

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE great event of the week in politics has been the removal of Mr. Sumner from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which was carried by a large majority—many of the Republican members who were opposed to it abstaining from voting, being unwilling to act in opposition to the decision of the caucus, and yet being determined not to aid actively in carrying it out. We have discussed the matter elsewhere. The general impression, as indicated by the newspapers at all events, seems to be that it is, as regards the fortunes of the Administration, a fatal blunder, and it has drawn forth a great many flattering expressions of feeling about Mr. Sumner. His friends, who are just now engaged in praising him, and claiming indulgence for his faults of temper and his mistakes, on account of his past services to the country, would do well to remember that General Grant has some claims of the same nature to indulgence and forbearance. It may be that he owes his place in the White House in some degree to Mr. Sumner's fidelity to the principles of the Republican party; but it is equally safe to say that Mr. Sumner owes his place in the Senate in some degree to General Grant. The question whether there should be any Senate for Mr. Sumner to sit in was very hotly debated about six years ago, and we believe the stout manner in which General Grant maintained the affirmative had much to do with the result. We are as fully alive to Grant's official faults as anybody, but when his claims to national gratitude come to be compared with those of any other man, we honestly confess we are rather overpowered by the display he makes. As our Washington correspondent points out, the orators have just now the advantage of him, but he has stood in places where he was worth more to the country than ten thousand orators.

There can be little doubt that the quarrel will give a fatal blow to the San Domingo scheme, no matter what the report of the Commissioners may be. It has never taken any firm hold of public opinion, and would have needed under ordinary circumstances all the Commission could say in favor of it to give it a chance of success. Having furnished its opponents with a distinguished martyr, the President may as well give up the struggle. This result has indeed been so apparent from the beginning, that it is difficult to believe that the President did not foresee it, and that his desire to have Mr. Sumner removed is not due to other things than the Senator's hostility to the San Domingo scheme. The report that a desire for his removal from the chairmanship had been expressed by the English members of the High Commission was always a silly one, but it has now been formally contradicted by Mr. Fish.

Four, three, and even two years ago, when the protectionists had everything their own way in the House, they were warned again and again, even by those who had no great partiality for free-trade, that their performances were more than any community would long submit to; and that, if they wished the aid they were getting from the country to be permanent, they should be moderate in their demands, and learn to let well enough alone; that is, stop tinkering the tariff, and calling attention every winter to the amount of their requirements, and, above all, stop asking incessantly for more; or, in other words, to consider themselves lucky dogs, and keep still. They scorned this ignoble rôle, however, and persisted in acting as apostles of a new gospel, and openly proclaimed their belief that, if they could shut out all foreign goods, they would consider it a good thing, and would do it. Nearly a year ago (April 14, 1870), we pointed out in the *Nation* the impossibility of trying the protectionist system thoroughly under a popular government, or any government controlled by public opinion. We said that "the trial of an experiment requiring an indefinite period of time for its completion, and inflicting on the community during the

whole time a present and perceptible loss, as the price of a remote and invisible good, it was useless to expect from a large popular assembly like the American Congress, the composition of which almost completely changes in the course of eight or ten years, and which every two years receives from its constituents a fresh set of mental and moral impressions."

All this was an easy deduction from the history of the American tariff; but we now have a fresh proof of its soundness in what is passing at this moment in Congress. The protectionist forces in the House have apparently dwindled down to about fifty votes all told. Mr. Kelley, who during the last ten years has been loud, truculent, implacable, and insatiable, is wailing like a beggar; or, as Mr. Cox says, is talking like Jeremiah where he so lately talked like Isaiah. The revenue reformers are in such a majority as to be positively reckless, and have gone to work at the tariff, even in advance of the organization of the committees, in a style that seems to make its total abolition a possibility. They swept away the salt duty on Monday; they then swept away the duty on bituminous coal; and then the Pennsylvania protectionists, in the bitterness of despair, proposed attacking the duties on tea and coffee also, and a general rush followed, overthrowing these also by 141 to 49. There is nothing on the list less objectionable than the duties on tea and coffee, and nothing which brings more for the revenue at less cost of collection, and there is some danger that the reformers will be led in their enthusiasm into doing more than the revenue will stand. It is desirable now to pull up and wait for the forming of some programme. This mode of cutting down tariffs is nearly as objectionable as the protectionists' mode of putting them up, because it fills the land with uncertainty and anxiety. Let us now have a decent and even tolerably scientific system of taxation. There is a letter in the *Tribune* of Tuesday from a frightened "Republican" in Washington, evidently a protectionist, which is entertaining reading, calling for "a carefully revised tariff bill, so wisely drawn," and "so thoroughly sustained by facts and figures," that the party can go before the country with it in the Presidential canvass; otherwise he fears the tariff quarrel will split the party up. A little of this sort of talk from this quarter last year would have been serviceable, but none was heard, and anybody who supplied "facts and figures" which the high tariff men did not like was denounced as a knave.

The Senate Republican caucus has resolved, in spite of the general desire to go home, to prolong the session of Congress until some legislation can be effected for the protection of life and property at the South. Something to protect life and property at the South is sorely needed, but one cannot help wondering at the persistence with which the faith in coercive acts is kept up in Washington. It is not for want of laws that men are murdered and whipped, and their houses burned, at the South, but for want of the means of executing them. There are laws against murder, arson, and mayhem, and assault and battery, in every State in the South; the existing trouble arises out of the fact that in every State there are large bodies of persons who refuse to obey them. There are two ways of having laws obeyed: one is enlisting the majority of the community heartily and actively in their support; the other is providing force enough to compel people to obey them whether they like them or not. The first of these is not attainable by legislation; it is the result of religion, education, intelligence, industry, prosperity. Does Congress really mean to provide the other, or is it simply going to let Mr. Butler, or somebody like him, bring in a loud, resounding, penal enactment, which will throw dust in the eyes of the public, and leave things at the South precisely as they were before? It is time that this farce of "protecting life and property at the South" by mere threats came to an end. If Congress means to protect it really by force, it must provide the soldiers for the work, and the people must be prepared to pay the bills. If they are not ready to do this, the pacification must be left to time and education. But its present

condition of the South is terrible, and the disease from which it is suffering is moral, not political—if indeed there be any political disease which is not also moral.

The majority report of the Senate Committee to investigate Southern disorders relates exclusively to North Carolina. This State lay nearest to hand, and has been perhaps as conspicuous as any other for the outrages committed on blacks and whites by Ku-klux organizations. The fact that, by the impeachment of Gov. Holden, the State was in a sense itself trying the question of the reality of these outrages, and of the necessity of employing extra-judicial means to suppress them, might have suggested the propriety of examining first some other community. But the charge that the committee was purposely acting in the interest of Gov. Holden would not seem to be established by the arguments of the minority of the committee (Senators Bayard and Blair), or by the mode in which the investigation was conducted. Fifty-two witnesses were summoned, including all whose testimony was desired by the minority, and while twenty-nine of these were Republicans, twenty-one were Democrats or Conservatives, and six were confessedly members of the Ku-klux. The greatest latitude was allowed in questioning, and the whole policy of the State, financial as well as political, appears to have been freely explored. It was proved beyond question that the Ku-klux is a secret political order of white men, all Democrats, and many of them ex-Confederate soldiers, and that in certain districts in North Carolina they have perpetrated such and so numerous atrocities as to make life and property there totally insecure for a certain class of the population: further, that no conviction in any court has ever followed upon any one of them, while colored marauders who have occasionally adopted the Ku-klux disguise have been, on discovery, apprehended, and made to pay the penalty of the law. The minority report is very irrelevant, and makes no point of any weight, except that the alleged disorders have occurred in less than one in ten of the eighty-seven counties into which North Carolina is divided.

Senator Fenton has made a speech in support of his bill for the reform of the Custom-house, describing the abuses of the institution at considerable length, and they are due, in the last analysis, we need hardly say, to the incompetency and dishonesty of the officers. Mr. Fenton said "that the whole matter points towards civil-service reform;" that the use of the Government patronage for party purposes was highly injurious to the country; that this patronage has become too vast, and the offices to be filled too numerous, to permit the application of the maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils," any longer; and he has accordingly added a section to his bill, providing that all officers of the customs whose appointment needs the confirmation of the Senate shall hold office for four years, and not be removable except for cause, and after a fair trial. Coming from such a quarter, this proposition is enough to fill one with amazement; and it shows what rapid progress the cause of civil-service reform is making, though we have our doubts "whether this particular measure is just what is needed," etc., etc.

New Hampshire has gone Democratic by a vote which completely reverses the political character of the State, and takes from the heretofore dominant party the entire Congressional delegation. The event is one which may well give concern to the Republican leaders, and it renders still more evident the reaction which has already cost the protectionists their control of the national revenues.

We have given elsewhere a summary of Mr. D. D. Field's letter in reply to General Barlow. There is one passage in it which deserves, however, a separate mention, and that is Mr. Field's report of what he was told of the origin of the Church and Ramsey suits. He says: "The Board of Directors of the Susquehanna Company was divided into two parties, one of which supported Ramsey, the then President, making six in all, while the other consisted of the Vice-President Herrick and seven other directors, making eight in all, who disapproved of the management of Ramsey as injurious to the road, *extravagant*, and *corrupt*.

These eight directors, for the purpose of securing a majority of the stock at the approaching election to be held on the 7th of September, had sought the aid of Gould and Fisk in the purchase of the stock." We think this is the one comic passage in the controversy, and it is made all the more so by Mr. Field's feeling, which he shows throughout, that in pursuing Ramsey he was pursuing the villain of the drama, and owed him no mercy. Railroad reformers who are so disgusted with "the extravagance and corruption" of the president of a road that they call in the aid of Fisk and Gould to oust him, and appoint Fisk receiver the very first thing, could certainly not be matched as impudent wags, or could only be matched by a congregation who, being disgusted by the immoralities of their pastor, should send to the penitentiary in search of a "stated supply." Mr. Field's indignation at the tricks by which Ramsey sought to hide the books from these worthies may be justifiable, but on the surface, and to a benighted public, it seems as if it might be better expended. We are bound to say that, on any ordinary view of human affairs, Ramsey was entitled, even when stowing away his books in a graveyard, to the sympathy of honest men.

The upright Fisk, who was called on by "the Church party" to help them to purify the administration of the affairs of the Susquehanna Railroad, seems to be at last getting into a corner where Barnard cannot help him. The English stockholders sent an agent over here last winter to represent them, who endeavored to get their stock transferred on the books of the company, so as to enable their representatives here to vote on it. The scrip—60,055 shares—was accordingly sent up to the office, to enable the transfer to be effected; but Fisk, hearing what was going on, seized the stock, and got Judge Barnard to appoint one of his confederates, James H. Coleman, "receiver" of it. In other words, he stole the shares, and set the stockholders at defiance, and commenced a sham suit against them before Barnard. This suit has, however, been moved into the United States District Court, and as soon as the confederates found there was no escape, they discontinued it, and tried to make off with the spoil. But Judge Blatchford appointed another receiver, and ordered Coleman to hand the property over to him. Whereupon the confederates have now got another order from Barnard, directing Coleman to hand the stock over to a new receiver, one Charles Robinson, who now holds it. How long this little game can be carried on remains to be seen. But can there be a greater disgrace to a civilized community than having to sit still helplessly while two scoundrels like Fisk and Barnard perform these thimblerrigging operations before its eyes?

The Woman Question seems to acquire additional complexity every month, and the increasing difficulty of dealing with it, we are afraid, will cause many men to give in their adhesion to the sentiments of that "noble old Roman," Metellus Macedonicus, who, haranguing the senate, exhorted his colleagues to bear with their wives "manfully," as they could not "get rid of the infliction," and "it was their duty to look more to the permanent conservation of the state than to their own transient satisfaction." The world is vexing itself almost to distraction over woman's health, woman's education, woman's rights, woman's work; and now the news is going the round of the papers that drinking among women of the better classes is becoming fearfully common. This assertion was started the other day by the *Saturday Review* of English women; the medical journals took it up and said it was "too true;" now it has made its way over to this country, and the *Tribune* says it is "too true" of American women also. The female upper classes are, it appears, all going astray in the matter of stimulants. Some take opium; others champagne; others fancy drinks; deaths from delirium tremens, we are informed, "have occurred this winter among young, generous, and lovable girls," and there are ever so many female lunatics in asylums, brought there by "alcoholism," which is the new name for drunkenness. Then we have the well-known explanations about love of excitement, jaded nerves, feeling of "goneness," low tone, lack of stamina, late hours, wicked physicians, little brandy, more brandy, secret brandy in restaurants, mania-à-potu, insane retreat, ruined home, awful warning, afflicted husband, poor little children, hereditary tendency, and-so-on.

To the best of our belief, this story has gone abroad about the women of England and America regularly once every four or five years since the temperance movement first began. We neither admit nor deny its truth. But we do say, that, if true, it amazes us that there should be a really sober woman in either country, or in fact, to speak plainly, any woman who is not the drunken daughter of a drunken mother. We are glad to say that this is one of the subjects connected with women on which a certain class of writers love to exaggerate; and on which exaggeration is easy, because of course the story-teller is always bound to "suppress names." He can't decently tell who the ladies were he saw last week reeling about their own drawing-rooms, and you can't urge him to do it; so he shakes his head and goes off with a dismal, mysterious look, leaving you with awful suspicions about all "the generous, lovable girls" of your acquaintance. The writer who has treated the subject in the *Tribune* has apparently had a horrible social experience, for he talks of "the belle of the ball-room whirling half-naked in an immodest dance; her face unnaturally red, and the smell of liquor on her breath—pah!" We must say "pah" strikes us as a very mild form of condemnation of such a spectacle. If we saw a belle behaving in that way in a ball-room, we should censure her much more severely.

Most decent people supposed the proposal to erect a statue to Tweed was a huge joke, got up by ward politicians, till the publication of the names of the promoters of the movement, the other day, revealed the fact that amongst them were serious and even respectable men, and that it really was likely to result in setting up, in some public place in this great commercial city, a monument to the most notorious rogue of the day. Tweed himself, in a manly and sensible letter, which, it is to be hoped, will make some of those who signed the address to him wish themselves dead and, for the sake of their relatives, buried in some obscure graveyard, repudiates the whole thing, and declines the honor, and says significantly that, "though much abused, he is not wanting in common sense."

Mercantile business has been fairly active, but with transactions on a moderate scale. Imports continue large, but buyers act with caution. There have been several heavy failures, but none of any special significance. The cotton receipts continue on an extraordinary scale, and all accounts agree that there is a large portion of the crop yet to come. Prices have again declined, but the export continues heavy, and the English markets, though lower, show no signs of panic. Breadstuffs are firm, and the exports continue on a fair scale. The statistics of trade from the Custom-house appear to have now fallen into hopeless confusion, but nothing less was to be expected. Real estate has been dull and discouraging; even the most persevering believers in higher prices appear now to have given up hope; rents show strong signs of weakening, but the landlords, as a general thing, keep firm, not recognizing as yet the positive inability of people to pay the prevailing rates. There is nothing new from the coal regions. Matters there are drifting into a very dangerous condition indeed, but on this, as on all other subjects, the public seems incapable of alarm, anxiety, or even indignation.

The report comes that the London Conference has agreed on a treaty of peace, the terms of which are very much what was anticipated. The neutrality of the Black Sea is abolished, so that Russia may keep as many ships-of-war in it as she pleases; but the Porte is, on the other hand, allowed to exercise its discretion as to the admission of armed vessels through the Dardanelles. That is, in case the Sultan thinks things look threatening in the Black Sea, he can call up assistance without waiting for an actual outbreak of hostilities. The present treaty provides for the "solidarity" of the co-signatories. No one can withdraw without the consent of all the others.

The information forwarded to us by the Cable concerning the deliberations of the French National Assembly is distressingly meagre. It is possible that the doings of that Assembly, pending the definitive conclusion of peace and the first-stage evacuation of French territory by the Germans, are of insignificant proportions. As to its collective character, however, it has so far revealed itself that we may designate it as decidedly conservative and equally hostile both to red republicanism

and Bonapartism. But both the republican and Bonapartist elements are represented in it, with the main difference that the former is boisterous and threatening and the latter quiet and almost hidden, as if ashamed of its color. The proportion of Legitimists to Orleanists is not as vastly disadvantageous to the former as the earliest communications made it appear. That the Orleanists are in every way the strongest group—whether we consider their numbers, their connection with the executive, or their central position, which enables them to find support among the more moderate and peace-loving portions of both Legitimists and Republicans—admits no doubt. But, as far as our knowledge goes, they have as yet shown no disposition broadly to unfurl their distinctive flag; and, if they feel strong enough to make France accept their favorite form of government with its dynastic representatives, they will probably wait for the moment when a partial restoration of order, public force, and prosperity, through the agency of Thiers and other men of their party, will have given them the necessary prestige, and the excesses of the unruly portions of the Radicals will have sufficiently disposed the large centres of the country to support a throne even at a considerable expense to liberty.

The members of the Assembly whom Paris marked as its favorites by its heaviest votes meet with little sympathy on the part of the majority. Gambetta is eminently silent; Garibaldi, on withdrawing, was not allowed to address his colleagues; Rochefort left in disgust after a short attendance; Delescluze found hardly an echo in demanding the impeachment of Trochu, Favre, and their associates for high treason; Louis Blanc and Quinet were not more fortunate in bringing forward a similar demand; and Victor Hugo, who vainly supported them, was, on a subsequent occasion, driven by a storm of hisses to announce his immediate resignation, and abruptly to quit the Assembly. Under these circumstances, the majority of the Assembly could naturally have little desire to exchange their seat in Bordeaux for one in Paris. A Committee on Removal reported in favor of Fontainebleau, but Thiers, in the name of the Government, expressed a decided preference for Versailles. On the 11th, the question was finally put to vote, after the rejection, by 407 nays against 104 yeas, of an amendment demanding the immediate removal to Paris; and the Government proposition was carried against precisely the same minority, which probably represents the strength of the uncompromising Republicans, the number of nays differing only by three from that of the votes cast against the ratification of the treaty of peace. The first public sitting at Versailles is to be held on the 20th. This city has, in the meanwhile, been evacuated by the Germans, and occupied by a French garrison.

Paris has had a week or so of very foolish quasi-revolutionary excitement, which may, however, have been much less alarming than mortifying to its sensible and sincerely patriotic inhabitants. A portion of the National Guard protested against the appointment of General D'Aurelles de Paladines to the command over them, and gave vent to their indignation in a rather bellicose way. The suburban districts of Belleville and Montmartre were the principal seats of the agitation, the malcontents, excited by Red demagogues and the fear of being disbanded and losing their franc-and-a-half daily salary, refusing to give up their cannon, and intrenching themselves in threatening positions. The Government tried both conciliation and menaces, having on its side the regular forces, the great majority of the Guard, the maires of all the arrondissements, and the unanimous voice of the respectable press. A review of the forty thousand troops—of the former Army of the Loire—now forming the garrison of the capital was held, not without effect, by General Vinoy, the Military Governor of Paris. The suspension, by order of the same General, of the publication of the revolutionary journals *Le Vengeur*, *Le Mot d'Ordre*, *Le Cri du Peuple*, *La Caricature*, *Le Père Duchesne*, and *La Bouche de Fer*, followed, accompanied by the publication of the sentences pronounced by court-martial against the leading rioters of December. Of these, Blanqui and Flourens are reported to have been "condemned to death for contumacy"—a statement the correctness of which may be doubted. At last accounts, the would-be insurrectionists of Belleville and Montmartre had finally yielded to the authorities, "Red" placards exhorting the army not to fight the people having produced no effect.

THE WASHINGTON IMBROGLIO.

WE believe there are very few careful observers of the course of the Administration during the last nine months who have been much surprised by what is now happening at Washington. The dismissal of Mr. Wells was the first step in a progress which has certainly not been upward. It revealed General Grant's indifference to things to which his warmest supporters supposed him to be anything but indifferent, and, notably, to the importance of surrounding himself with skilled and honest agents. When he dismissed Mr. Wells in obedience to the clamor of a few barefaced monopolists, and to the prejudices (to use a mild term) of the Secretary of the Treasury, he virtually admitted that he did not care whether the most serious portion of the work before the Republican party—the reform of the taxation—was well or ill done, or done at all. In other words, he relegated the whole financial question to the jobbery of the committee-rooms, and left the public to guess blindly at the amount of burdens the country ought to bear, and at the manner in which it should shoulder them; and this great error was appropriately followed six months later by a frank declaration in his Message that he did not know what revenue reform meant, but that if it meant repudiation he was opposed to it.

The dismissal of Mr. Wells was followed by the dismissal of Mr. Cox. We say "dismissal" because, though Mr. Cox resigned, he was as clearly forced out of his place as if he had received formal notice to quit. His post was made untenable by the admission to the President's confidence of the very set of politicians who are now figuring most prominently in the movement against Mr. Sumner. We stigmatized this at the time, in strong terms, as an open breach of the pledges by which the President had won the popular confidence, and warned the public that it was but the beginning of great evil. We were told, in reply, and told, too, by large numbers of those who are now most bitter in their denunciations of the movement against Mr. Sumner, that we were over-censorious; that the President was a wise and good man, and was as fond of civil-service reform as anybody; and that, in trying to make a martyr of Cox, we were working with very poor materials. We were then treated in the Message, as a sort of soothing application, to a mild recommendation of civil-service reform, but without mention of "any particular measure;" and General Grant's critics were advised to look at this and blush over their fault-finding. Unfortunately, however, there was no improvement in the class of men of whom the President took counsel; and as long as this was the case there was no reason to expect any marked improvement in the general conduct of the Administration. Men of character and standing and ability and culture ceased more and more to go to the White House; "old Romans," like Butler and Chandler and Cameron, and sages like Wendell Phillips, continued to put themselves forward more and more prominently as the exponents of the President's wishes, or to become louder and louder in their laudation of him.

We must, therefore, confess that the uproar about Mr. Sumner's case strikes us as a little childish. There is reason enough in it for indignation; but it hardly justifies the surprise and alarm which many good people are manifesting. Those who saw Wells, Hoar, and Cox driven out of office, without anything but faint expressions of disapproval, or without any disapproval at all, are bound, in common decency, to take the present crisis more calmly. We concede freely that, although the Senate has a perfect right to make up its committees as it pleases, and although, with all respect for some of our contemporaries, we think the duty of choosing the chairmen of its committees likely to be more efficiently performed by a majority of that body than by public meetings of excited citizens in various parts of the country, the interference of the Administration, through its partisans, gives a serious, if not fatal, blow to General Grant's prospects of renomination.

But we confess our inability to see why it should greatly damage the prospects of the Republican party. We certainly had never heard until last Friday that the existence of the party or its safety depended on Mr. Sumner's remaining Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. We always understood that he was put and kept there because he was supposed to be the best man for the place, and not because the retention of power by the party depended on it. There is certainly one way of making his removal as great a blow to the party

as it is very likely to prove to the President, and that is, to wail over it as an awful calamity. If this is done often enough and loudly enough, and a sufficient number of indignation meetings are held to denounce it as "the greatest crime of the age," we dare say enough Republicans will be furnished with an excuse for quitting the party to make its defeat at the next election certain; and it is worth considering whether, in order to get a better man for Grant's successor, it is necessary to throw away our arms and run off the field in disorder, yelling "Treason! treason!" There is a constant tendency in the party's ranks to these panics. The great body of it are intelligent and sober men; but it also contains a large number of people who carry their brains in their breasts, and are constantly ready for a sensation, and pass their time either on the topmost pinnacles of hope or in the lowest depths of despair. The pitch of frantic absurdity to which they are sometimes able to carry the organization was well illustrated by the agitation caused by the impeachment trial.

Mr. Sumner is apparently, as far as regards knowledge, experience, and ability, the fittest man in the Senate to occupy the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Indeed, he may be said to have been the only man in the Senate during the last twelve years who professed to know anything about foreign affairs at all; and it may also be said that his manner of filling the place has been, on the whole, creditable to himself and useful to the country. But then the proper comprehension of foreign affairs is not the only qualification necessary for the occupant of this place. Nay, it is not even the chief. It seems to be forgotten by some people that, although the President's management of the relations of the country with foreign powers has to have the approval of the Senate, nevertheless it is to his hands the management of foreign affairs is committed by the Constitution. It is his Secretary of State who, under his supervision, does the work. The main business of the Chairman of the Senate Committee is not to negotiate treaties, but to discuss with the Executive such treaties as have been negotiated, and receive from it explanations about them. His first business, therefore, is to be a good organ of communication on this particular class of subjects between the President and Senate, and nobody can be said to be well fitted for this duty whose personal relations with the President are of an unpleasant nature. In fact, we go so far as to say that a proper sense of his duty, and of the fitness of things, and a proper appreciation of the delicacy of the machinery of such a Government as ours, might have suggested to Mr. Sumner the expediency of resigning the chairmanship as soon as he found himself arrayed in open and bitter hostility to General Grant. It must be remembered that his resigning the chairmanship would not deprive the Senate of the benefit of his counsels. It would enable no act of the Administration to escape his supervision. [He would still be a senator]; the only change that would take place in his position would be that he would no longer be charged with the duty of hearing from the President, whom he dislikes and despises, for communication to the Senate, an account of the considerations which had governed the Executive in taking this or that step in its foreign policy.

We might, and, we suppose, we ought to say something of another objection of a more general nature to Mr. Sumner's occupying such a position. We allude to his want of judgment and want of sense of responsibility in the use of language. He talks sometimes in the wildest way, and apparently without being fully conscious of the force or bearing of what he says. This was not of much consequence as long as he was assailing slavery; it is of considerable consequence when he is mixed up in the transaction of some of the most serious business of this life. He has approached some of the most delicate questions now pending between this country and foreign powers in the spirit and language of a frantic popular orator, thus causing great loss of property, and seriously increasing the difficulty of the negotiations. It would not be unnatural that, in view of all these facts, and on the eve of an attempt to settle a most important controversy with England, in which he has taken a most excited part, and has given utterance to most extraordinary views of international law and morality, the Administration should wish for some friendlier, calmer, and more accurate organ of communication with the body which is to ratify any treaty it may enter into.

We mention all these things with the view not of excusing the Administration or of passing condemnation on Mr. Sumner, but of showing that the crisis is not so dreadful as it seems; that human freedom is not in peril and the Republic going to be rent to its foundations, and that there is no need of drawing preambles or resolutions, or throwing off our cravats, or tearing open our shirts and rushing to Washington. We have no doubt whatever that Mr. Sumner's removal is by no means altogether due to the considerations we have enumerated above as just and reasonable. His opposition to the San Domingo scheme has no doubt the larger share in it, and it furnishes, therefore, a fresh illustration of the extraordinary nature of the craze which has taken possession of the President's mind. A greater mistake he could hardly have made, and it is aggravated by the character of the men whom he has made the exponents of his policy, and by the attempt of his partisans to put a notorious corruptionist, who enjoys nobody's confidence, in the place of one whose purity even his enemies have never doubted, and whose services in domestic affairs have given him a hold on popular affection at the North which no number of mistakes or absurdities in dealing in foreign affairs could shake. But it is a mistake which will injure nobody but General Grant himself. To try to elevate it to the rank of a national or even a great party calamity is ridiculous. The stress laid on the impropriety of the Presidential interference with the organization of the Senate must surely come from innocent people. The exercise of pressure by the Executive on both the House and Senate to procure legislation, get money voted, get treaties ratified and nominations confirmed, by all sorts of means, legitimate and illegitimate, has for years been one of the most objectionable and notorious phenomena of Congressional life. There is nothing novel about this last exhibition of it except that it consists in an assault on an eminent man, in aid, as people are inclined to believe, of a scheme of more than usual absurdity and corruption.

COTTON AND SPECIE PAYMENTS.

ALTHOUGH the raising of cotton concerns more directly the Southern States of this Union, it is, nevertheless, an industry in which the whole community—indeed, the whole civilized and uncivilized world—is more or less actively interested. Although northern peoples use large amounts of woollen clothing, yet, taking the entire population of the globe, cotton is far more largely worn than any other material, and may fairly be considered as, next to food, the most widely and generally used product of human industry. The price of this important article is mainly regulated by the production of our Southern States, which prior to the war of secession furnished four-fifths of all the cotton entering into the commerce of the world. The cotton culture of the South might, therefore, on these grounds alone be considered a matter of national interest. But, besides these general considerations, there are many special reasons why the cotton culture should be interesting to the whole country, and why it should be particularly interesting at this particular time.

Cotton-raising in the United States began with the century, increased gradually to a product of 400,000 bales in 1820, and has since steadily and rapidly developed in the following progression: the average for ten years, from 1820–30, was 700,000 bales; from 1830–40, it was 1,400,000 bales; from 1840–50, over 2,100,000 bales; and from 1850–60, the ten years preceding the outbreak of war, the average reached nearly 3,800,000 bales; while in the years 1859 and 1861 the production did not fall far short of the extraordinary figure of five millions of bales. The price, in the meantime, rapidly declined from fifty cents to ten cents a pound, which latter was about the average price for some years prior to 1861; so that the value of the average crop of those years was not much less than 150 millions of dollars in gold, and for the large-crop years more nearly 200 millions. These figures give a clear and distinct form to the very vague ideas which generally prevail on the great value of our cotton crop; but they do not in themselves account for the fact that a far greater general importance is attached to cotton than to some other crops, such as that of wheat, or corn, or hay, each of which has frequently largely exceeded the cotton crop in actual money value.

The main cause of the special importance of the cotton crop is to be sought in the fact that so small a portion of it is consumed at home, and so large a portion is available for export, the largest amount used in domestic manufactures never having reached one million of bales in any one year, or about one-fourth of the crop, leaving three-fourths for export; and the importance of this fact again is due to the much neglected or entirely ignored axiom, that while our imports from foreign countries are regulated by our wishes and wants, our exports are regulated by the wishes and wants of others, and that, if we do not produce for other nations what they want, we shall be obliged to pay for our imports in specie, the only article that all nations are at all times willing to receive in payment for all debts due them. Now, the only article of which we have never yet produced more than the world wanted—the only article of which we have always been able to sell all that we had to spare—is cotton; and it is no exaggeration to say that our ability to resume specie payments within a reasonable time depends more directly upon our production of cotton than upon any half-a-dozen other influences combined. It is for this reason that the cotton culture is so specially important at this moment, and that the prospects of the cotton-planters acquire national importance.

The cotton crop begins to be gathered about the 1st of September, and, like most other crops, occupies the greater part of the year in being marketed. But the first half of the cotton year generally sees more than two-thirds of the crop disposed of, and by the 1st of March, when preparations for the new crop are in active progress, the planters are generally pretty well able to tell the result of their last year's labors. In March, 1870, when the cotton-growers were getting ready for the crop now in the market, the price of cotton was, in round figures, twenty-five cents a pound. The previous crop had fallen short of the extravagant estimates indulged in, the supply from India had not responded to anticipations, peace and prosperity throughout the world had sustained the active demand for cotton manufactures, and the price had not fallen back to the old ante-war figures, as so many had predicted. Although the planters had labored under many difficulties, there is scarcely any doubt that their crop of that year, from 1869–70, was highly profitable. Under the stimulus of that profit, the acreage planted in cotton last spring was materially increased, greater care was bestowed upon the fields than ever before, for the first time in the history of the cotton culture subsoiling and the use of artificial fertilizers was general, and, as a result, the crop, in spite of weather by no means favorable, far exceeds that of the previous year. Up to this time, the receipts are already nearly 700,000 bales in advance of last year, and there is every prospect now that the extreme estimates of the total yield will be realized, and the crop largely exceed four millions of bales, becoming the third largest crop ever raised in the United States. But, in the meantime, the circumstances under which this crop is marketed have become very different from those under which it was planted. Two great nations have, for more than six months, almost suspended their civil pursuits to devote themselves to war; two great consumers of cotton have been temporarily excluded from our calculations; great, though quiet and almost unnoticed, commercial disturbance in the markets of Asia has materially affected a third customer, and the entire civilized community has suffered more or less seriously from the remoter effects of the war in France. These influences would have sufficed to depress the price of cotton without the increased supply; added to the large increase, they naturally depressed the price very much. A year ago, cotton was selling at twenty-five cents a pound; to-day, the price is less than fifteen—a decline of forty per cent., or nearly one-half. The disappointed planters, many of whom are receiving much less money for a double crop than they received last year for a single one, and some of whom are actually losers by their year's business, are naturally somewhat discouraged. Some are not able to pay their debts promptly; all are obliged to economize; they try to depress the wages of their laborers; merchants sell no goods; and a general cry of "bad business, no money, and plenty of failures" comes up from the cotton districts, furnishing one more illustration of the truth of the assertion that, however beneficial large crops prove in the end, their first effect, contrary to all general belief, is not favorable to business prosperity.

It is at this point that the position of the planters becomes one of general interest. The press throughout the country, North and South, are naturally disposed to advise the planters what they ought to do, not only to benefit themselves, but to benefit all the rest of the community. And generally the advice takes this form: Plant less cotton, and you will get more money for your smaller crop. Notably are the protectionist journals active and prominent in advocating this course, and in urging the planters, upon the ground of the advantages to be derived from what they call a diversified industry, to devote a larger share of their land, time, labor, and capital to raising food in preference to cotton. Now, while the individual farmer, aided by common sense sharpened by experience, may be safely trusted to know what is beneficial to him, and is more likely to understand his business than any number of Northern editors, whose chief knowledge of such subjects is derived from text-books and cyclopædias, it may, nevertheless, be worth while to explain how, from a national point of view, the advice so unselfishly tendered is decidedly mischievous.

In the first place, the object of every producer must naturally be to produce something which he can sell. Even if his original object be to produce something for his own use, he will unquestionably prefer to produce that which, in case he should not want it himself, he will be able to sell. With regard to cotton, we have already seen that we have never yet produced as much as we were able to sell. The number of people depending upon our cotton supply has very largely increased since we produced five millions of bales, and there is no reason for supposing that if we produced this year five millions and a half, or over a million more bales than last year, we should not find buyers for the whole. Unless, therefore, it should be very evident that in place of cotton the Southern planters could produce something quite as certainly salable and otherwise as advantageous, it would be downright folly for them to change their production. Now, what they are advised to cultivate instead is principally corn and food for cattle, so as to produce their own meat. Yet, when cotton was selling for only eight or ten cents a pound, when the West was not nearly as well developed as it is now, when there were not half as many means of communication between West and South as there are at present, it was more profitable for cotton-planters to buy their meat and bread at the West than to raise it themselves. Why should it not, under all these more advantageous circumstances, be just as profitable now?

We have never yet been able to produce more cotton than the world was willing to buy. But we have frequently produced more food than we ourselves or all the rest of the world united were able to consume. Not that even in the years of our most abundant crops there were not many people suffering from insufficient food, but that they were beyond the distance to which the transportation of food is practically possible. This transportation question is one of which the glib advisers of the Southern planter entirely lose sight. Food is bulky and cheap. When corn sells at one dollar a bushel and cotton at fifteen cents a pound, one pound of cotton will pay for its own transportation over a distance nine times as great as a pound of corn could carry itself. In other words, the field over which our cotton product could compete with other cotton producers is nine times as large as the field over which our corn can compete with other corn producers. Our planters are asked to abandon the production of an article whose market is practically unlimited, for the production of an article which is by the mere cost of transportation alone confined within very narrow limits.

Whether the South can produce corn and meat as cheaply as the West can is not the question. The issue is, whether the labor devoted at the South to cotton is more profitable to the planter than if devoted to wheat; and on this issue there can scarcely be a doubt. But supposing, even, the planter might to-day be able to raise corn and beef as cheaply as the Western farmer, and were to do so to some extent, what is the Western farmer to do with the corn and beef which he has heretofore been in the habit of raising, and for which the South has heretofore been his principal customer? Is he to devote himself to cotton planting? Is he to be entirely idle? Is he to continue to raise corn and beef when he has no buyers for it? Is it expected that the Western farmer can send his corn and beef to Europe in place of the

Southern planter's cotton? That will depend, not upon us, but upon Europe. Whether Europe will buy beef and corn from us, or how much she will buy, is always a doubtful question. At this very moment good judges assert that the product of these articles in the West alone is beyond the ability of our accessible markets to consume, and that with the opening of navigation prices will fall lower than last year. What would be the effect of an additional production of these articles at the South? In fact, our planters are invited and urged to diminish the production of an article for which they have a most extensive and very certain market, and to substitute for it an article the profitable production of which is doubtful, and the markets for which are at all times limited and uncertain.

There is little danger of the advice being followed to any great extent. It is more likely that many planters, discouraged by the unprofitable result of this crop, will devote less care to the coming crop, and will be less able to spend as much for labor and for fertilizers as last year, and that the next yield may, therefore, not be fully equal to the present one. Should, however, the reverse prove true, and the planters be stimulated to additional effort, we shall probably have this fall a larger crop of cotton than ever before known. Business now throughout the country is very much depressed. Although our importations continue extremely large, the sales of imported goods are not proportioned to the anticipations of the owners, and there is a reasonable probability that the summer and fall will witness a decrease in our importations, and, consequently, a diminution in the amount of floating debt due abroad. If at that time we should come into possession of a cotton crop equal to or exceeding that of last year, our commercial position would, for the first time since the close of the war, be such as to justify the expectation that we might resume specie payments without financial disaster. It is evident that cotton, if no longer king, continues to be a subject of paramount importance to all citizens of the United States.

MR. FIELD'S REPLY TO THE TRIBUNE.

MR. D. D. FIELD has replied in the *Tribune* to the summing up made by that paper of Barlow's charges, and alleges in substance as follows:

1. That in so far as the charges against him rest on the judgment of Judge Smith, that judgment has been pronounced erroneous in law and fact by three eminent counsel, and appealed from, and that the Judge does not mention Mr. D. D. Field as censurable.
2. That Mr. Field was not counsel in all of the proceedings which the Judge denounced as fraudulent, and as regards those which he did so denounce it is to be expected that the court above will pronounce them legal and proper.
3. That as regards the appointment of Mr. Fuller to the receivership of the three thousand shares of stock, he was so appointed without Mr. D. D. Field's knowledge, and, although he voted on the invalid stock, he did so because the opposite party, the "Ramsey party," had just before the election obtained an extraordinary *ex parte* injunction, forbidding the Church party to vote unless Groesbeck (whose stock Fuller held) "or other holders of the three thousand shares" should first have an opportunity to vote free from injunction. In order to give the other stockholders, therefore, a chance of voting, Fuller voted, although his votes were not necessary to the success of the Church party, who had a majority without them.
4. That he had nothing to do with the bringing of Barnard from his mother's deathbed to New York on the 6th of August, to grant an order appointing Fisk receiver of the Susquehanna road, he (Mr. Field) being at that time at Stockbridge; that in the evidence which represented him as having driven to the station in a carriage, "Field" was by a misprint substituted for "Fisk;" and that Barnard did not sign the order at Mrs. Mansfield Lawlor's. [Where did he sign it?]
5. That the service of the injunction on the Ramsey inspectors of election just before the election was purely the act of the sheriff, who had been looking for these gentlemen the previous day, but had been unable to find them, and served the papers when he did on his own responsibility and without the connivance or suggestion of the lawyers; that in this matter, however, the Ramsey party did just the same thing, and have therefore no right to complain. To the charge of arresting Ramsey under similar circumstances—same answer.
6. That he had nothing to do with the filling of the election room at

Albany "with roughs and fighting men," and that the Ramsey party had "roughs" near by also.

7. That as to the charge of tying up Ramsey's hands so as to prevent his preparing for trial by injunction and then forcing him to trial, and, he not being ready, taking a default against him, Ramsey's conduct had been "flagitious to the last degree," and that whatever was done that seemed unusual was done in good faith and seemed necessary to frustrate his nefarious designs; and that he, Mr. D. D. Field, never personally got an *ex-parte* injunction from Judge Barnard in his life, and never got any order of any kind from him except in open court, and "never asked in person or by partners or agents for any order" that he, Mr. Field, "did not think proper to be granted upon the law and the fact."

We have presented this summary as an act of fairness to Mr. Field. But we are bound to call attention to the fact that his letter is not a reply to General Barlow's charges, but to the *Tribune's* necessarily rough digest of them; that he passes over some of General Barlow's strongest points without notice, and gets rid of some of the most discreditable portions of the Erie litigation by drawing a distinction between himself and his partners. He, however, announces his intention of answering General Barlow in detail "in another form." As the case stands, Judge Smith's severe characterization of the litigation conducted by Field and Shearman is met by the fact that an appeal has been taken from his decision; the blame of the undeniably improper proceedings before Barnard is thrown by implication on Mr. Field's partners; and the high-handed way in which Ramsey was pursued is justified by the assertion that he was very unscrupulous himself. It ought to be remarked on this point that the "Ramsey suits" arose out of a quarrel between the directors of the Susquehanna Railroad, of which Ramsey was president, and that his opponents called in the aid of Fisk, Gould, and Lane to enable them to get possession of the road. Mr. Field's indignation over Ramsey as a bad man, who deserved no "courtesy" or "indulgence," is rendered somewhat singular by the character and aims of his own client Fisk, and by the ridicule he heaps on such considerations in the Bowles correspondence. The restraining Ramsey by injunction from carrying on an equity suit in another court, on which General Barlow comments severely, was a proceeding which, as he points out in a precisely similar case, was pronounced by Barnard "void," and by Cardozo "a monster in jurisprudence," one year previous. This Mr. Field does not meet at all. We may say the same of the whole of General Barlow's account of the way in which the Ramsey case was kept before Barnard in this city for months, in defiance of usage if not of law.

MR. SUMNER'S REMOVAL.

WASHINGTON, March 11, 1871.

THE ripples made by throwing a stone in the water decrease rapidly as they recede from the centre, and it is hardly to be expected that the excitement which has stirred this city so deeply in the last few days will have an equal effect throughout the country. It is not, however, the interest of a merely personal quarrel, but the fact of a fresh shock being given to the Republican party, and the necessity of a new point of departure, if the election of 1872 is to be anything but a "scrub" race. The hostility between the President and Senator Sumner has been for some time but thinly disguised. It seems to be well authenticated that the President had intimated to some of his supporters that it was absolutely essential that there should be a change in the chairmanship of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. It may not be wholly unnecessary to remark that the Senate committees, instead of being nominated as in the House by the presiding officer, are a matter of election. Accordingly, the Nominating Committee proposed, in caucus, to transfer Mr. Sumner from the Foreign Affairs to the Election Committee, and to substitute on the former (of all men in the world) Mr. Cameron, of Pennsylvania. It is not unjust to say that all the best men of the party protested against this unprecedented affront to a senator of twenty years' standing, who, whatever may be his faults of manner, is admitted to have shown at all times the highest integrity and devotion to what he believed to be the interest of his country. In two caucuses, however, the decision was adhered to, and on Friday was reported to the Senate. Mr. Sumner's friends declared that sooner than submit to it they would place the matter before the country in open debate. For five hours yesterday afternoon was held the most excited conflict of the session, not between different parties, for no Democrat uttered a word till towards the close, but between members of one side of the House. Mr. Schurz began calmly, almost timidly, dwelling upon Mr. Sumner's long services, and the unfairness of such treatment. Mr. Edmunds followed,

pooh-poohing the whole matter as a small affair, and stating that the Senate had the right and the duty of adjusting its committees at the commencement of each Congress. Mr. Schurz's tone was several degrees bolder, as he replied that it was not a small affair, and that such an affront as the deposition of Mr. Sumner from the most important post in the Senate could not be inflicted without sufficient reasons; he would ask the chairman of the Nominating Committee (Mr. Howe) to state those reasons. A whisper ran round the keener managers of the other side: "Don't answer him!" But Mr. Howe, who appeared throughout like a gentleman engaged in a dirty piece of work, said that a civil question deserved a civil answer. It was manly, but fatal. He said that Mr. Sumner had declined intercourse with the President and the Secretary of State—not official intercourse, he admitted, in reply to Mr. Schurz's question, but social; that Mr. Sumner had once declined to answer a question addressed to him by the Secretary of State. Then Mr. Schurz rose and threw away the scabbard. He read a passage in a despatch from Mr. Fish to Mr. Motley, in which (he said) Mr. Sumner was charged with having betrayed the President's confidence under the guise of friendship, and added that such a charge was enough to interrupt social intercourse between gentlemen. He declared that, if true, it was disgraceful that the Executive should use the plea of social relations to disgrace a senator. But it was not true. The pretext was too shallow. Why did not gentlemen state the true reason? The President desired the annexation of San Domingo, opposition to which was the senator's grand offence; and, though he did not say, he implied pretty strongly, that the place was to be filled with a much more pliable character. He had never expected to see the senator in the same chair in which he had been struck down by an infuriated slaveholder again struck down by his own party; by the hands of men who had attained to power as much through his agency as that of any individual. Mr. Wilson also rose to defend his colleague. It was hard for the trained politician to kick against the pricks, and his first remarks turned upon his personal respect and affection for Mr. Sumner, the length of the latter's services, and his fidelity to the interests committed to his charge, which deserved a better fate. Mr. Tipton made an excited speech, denouncing the action of the caucus, and scandalizing his colleagues by revelations which he defended on the ground that the papers had already reported the doings of the caucus. Mr. Logan made his debut in the Senate in a manner which agreeably disappointed those who had heard his performances in the House. He said that Mr. Sumner's displacement was an impolitic concession to Great Britain just as the High Commission were commencing their labors. Mr. Sherman appeared in an attitude very unusual, very embarrassing to him: that of halting between two opinions. He admitted that the action appeared to him unjust and impolitic; but he thought his duty as a member of a party obliged him to submit to the decision of the majority. Mr. Wilson, as the debate grew warmer, followed the example of Mr. Schurz. He charged that San Domingo was at the bottom of it all. He appealed to the Senate against the packing of committees by Executive influence. As to party, he knew one duty that was higher than that of party: the duty of doing right. He referred to instances in which he had left party conventions with which he did not agree, and he had never repented of it. As a lover of his country, he felt that his action was justified, and would be supported by nine-tenths of the thinking men who constituted the Republican party. Mr. Trumbull made one of the most impressive speeches of the day. He referred to the long time during which he had served with the two senators from Massachusetts, as chairmen of their respective committees, and though he had differed seriously from Mr. Sumner, he had too much respect for his character and ability to regard the proposed change with equanimity. He, too, applied the lash to the promoters of the San Domingo scheme. During this debate, the ringleaders of the movement had kept silence. But now Mr. Morton took up the party whip, and its echo resounded through the hall. Whether the action were right or wrong, he said, it had been decided upon by the majority, and all Republicans were bound to acquiesce. Upon his honor as a senator, he did not know that the President had interfered, and he did not believe that San Domingo had anything to do with it.

The frame of mind in which the Democrats had witnessed this scene was illustrated by an amendment which Mr. Bayard sent to the Chair; That Mr. Sumner should be reinstated, but that the committee, instead of that on Foreign Relations, should be called that on Personal Relations. The final vote on sustaining the caucus nomination stood 33 to 9, Mr. Sumner's friends having mostly left the hall when they found their efforts would be in vain. Meanwhile, the reporters' gallery was, almost to a man,

on the side of Mr. Sumner's friends. Every hit was followed by a murmur of suppressed applause, and every point of their adversaries by one of disapproval. This morning, the malcontents are in high spirits, while many of the successful party confess that such another victory would be their ruin. It shows how little the President understands the situation that he is said to be much pleased with the result, and to regard it as a decided victory. He may be undeceived when the San Domingo question comes up.

And yet, the President's position is a hard one. He has no voice which can reach the country. Once a year he can give, in a general way, his views upon political matters; but in all the exciting conflicts of the season he must be dumb. His actions, motives, and thoughts are discussed and bandied about, while his tongue is tied. He is attacked by men with the full stimulus of their own interest. He is defended by those who cling to him just as long as his interest agrees with theirs and that of others whom they represent. It was urged by his friends that the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, being the President's organ of communication with the Senate, should be in accord with him and with the Secretary of State. The President certainly should have a spokesman in the Senate, but it does not follow that it should be a senator. How much circumlocution and uncertainty would have been avoided in the last five years, if the Secretary of State had stood in the Senate to speak for and answer for the President.

THE SIEGE OF METZ.*

II.

THE INVESTMENT.

WHILE these events were occurring, several of the generals conjured the Emperor to quit the army, observing that it might possibly come to pass that the communications with Paris would be cut off, and that, shut up in Metz, separated from the rest of France, the chief of the state might be placed in the condition of being unable to conduct the affairs of the country, or to give them a useful direction, and that revolutionary agitations might result from this situation. These considerations had such an incontestable value for the Emperor that he decided to leave for Châlons, and accordingly, on the morning of the 16th, he left Gravelotte and passed through Conflans and Étain without having encountered a single enemy on the route. He escaped to play his part in the drama at Sedan, and only hastened the catastrophe that would have befallen him if he had remained to share the fate of the flower of his army.

On the morning of the 16th it was still possible for Bazaine to retreat undisturbed with all his train to Verdun; the Germans, whose progress was impeded by the woods and defiles about Gorze, were unable to press him very hard, and he had simply to retire before them. After the battle, however, his part was not so simple. It was impossible for him to march off by either of the two southernmost roads, for one was actually obstructed by the Germans, and the other was too close to them to admit of a flank march. Even to use the third, and northernmost, was now not without danger if the intention to march to Verdun were maintained. From the position of the army, it would be a detour of twelve miles, and gave little or no hope of leading to Verdun and reaching the Meuse without a new battle, as the Germans, even if they remained inactive on the 17th, would certainly be able to come up with him on the 18th or 19th this side of Verdun.

But there was one road open for his escape unmolested—that from Metz over Longuion to Sedan, which, at right angles behind his position, with the Orne to protect his rear, invited him to avail himself of this means of rescue. His failure to do so makes him responsible in no inconsiderable degree for the calamity at Sedan. Abundance of time was allowed him to form a junction with the army of MacMahon, and the force the Germans would have been obliged to leave behind for the investment of Metz would have rendered the proportion of reinforcements which the army attacking MacMahon thereby received much less than that of MacMahon's reinforcements. After the investment of Metz was completed, the army of the Crown Prince of Saxony, which included at least two corps (the Guard and the Twelfth Corps) of the army that had defeated the French before Metz—and the two that had been most instrumental in that defeat—were withdrawn from the besieging army, and, at Sedan, turned the scale in favor of the Germans. Why did not Bazaine retire via Briey on the night of the 16th to the 17th, or even on the 17th? He intimates in his despatch to the Emperor, written on the 17th, that he remained in the neighborhood of Metz to replenish his stock of ammunition; but could he

have known that he was endangering the existence of his army in order to have an abundant supply? It is clear from his despatch that he was provided with a sufficiency for at least two days, and he was losing valuable time to encumber himself with baggage, when the emergency was such that he might be required to sacrifice the greater part of his train. In his official report, he alleges that the Germans had occupied the road to Verdun as the reason for not continuing his retreat; but that fact itself should have aroused him to the necessity of escaping as speedily as possible by the only road open to him before that, too, should be closed.

The French commander formed the determination to resume the offensive as soon as his supplies should arrive, and force a passage to Verdun. He gave orders to the army to fortify itself in a new position, and the whole of the 17th was occupied in this movement. This position was a remarkably strong one. The left wing rested on the road from Gravelotte to Metz, before Rozérieulles, on the heights bordering the valley of the Moselle, which was commanded by Forts St. Quentin and St. Privat; then the line followed the edge of the mountain over the hamlets Point du Jour, Moscou, Leipzig, Montigny-la-Grange, to the village Amanvillers; it then crossed the Briey turnpike road, and its right rested at St. Privat-la-Montagne. From the crest of the mountain, the ground regularly declines to a distance of three thousand feet, where, along most of the line in front of Gravelotte, a sharply-cut brook, having its source in the heights of Amanvillers and the Bois de la Cusse, flows through the Bois de Genivaux and Bois de Vaux to the Moselle, and confines every approach of large close columns to the first two woods through the village Verneville. Only the right wing of the French was more accessible, but even here the approach was rendered difficult by a brook flowing into the Orne, behind which lies the villages Habonville, St. Ail, and Ste. Marie aux-Chênes. The line was about seven miles in length. For its occupation, after deducting the cavalry, which served as an escort for the Emperor in his flight, and the detachments to protect the train, which, on the 16th and 17th, had been sent out via Briey, Bazaine had over a hundred and sixty thousand men, with at least five hundred cannon and a hundred and fifty mitrailleuses. The woods, as well as the hamlet St. Hubert, and the villages Verneville, Habonville, St. Ail, but especially Ste. Marie, in front of this position, were occupied as a first line by tolerably strong advanced guards. But this formidable position had two great disadvantages. Behind it were dense woods, frequently on the steep sides of the mountain, so that movements in that direction were almost impossible, and consequently, after an attack, in case of necessity, it would be impossible to strengthen certain points by reinforcements; every part of the line must be defended by the troops placed there in the beginning of the contest. The second disadvantage was that there was no line of retreat but to Metz. If the French wished to avoid being thrown back into Metz, they must, by a decisive victory, reopen the communications with Paris which they had voluntarily relinquished.

Bazaine risked everything on this battle. The reasons for his doing so are to be found in a new system of tactics introduced into the French army by the mitrailleuse and the chassepot: this was to wait in trenches and behind other breastworks which permitted a free, wide range, until the enemy came within sight, and then to throw a rapid fire into their ranks before they could advance so far as to bring the French within range of their own arms—in this way to throw them into confusion—and then rush on to the attack. On this occasion very elaborate preparations were made to carry out these tactics. Loopholes were pierced in the walls of the hamlets and villages in the neighborhood, between which trenches were dug, and, where the ground permitted it, one above another. In some places there were three trenches on the side of a hill. The woods which might intercept their fire were cut down; and even the ground in front of the main position—St. Hubert, Verneville, and Ste. Marie for example—was put in a condition of defence. Knowing that a surprise was impossible, and believing that the superiority of the Germans was not very great, Bazaine determined to give battle in this position, and was satisfied of his ability, under such circumstances, to gain a signal victory.

On the part of the Germans, the battle of the 16th was by no means regarded as decisive; and, first of all, every available soldier was to be brought to hand. The Guard and the Twelfth Corps reached Mars-la-Tour, and were stationed, on the evening of the 17th, south of that place. The whole of the Seventh and Eighth Corps were brought over the river, and concentrated in and north of the Bois des Ognons, and formed the right of the German line; the Second Corps, which, on the 15th, was at Forbach, had, by forced marches, been brought as far as Pont-à-Mousson, and could be counted upon on the evening of the 18th; with them

* See the *Nation* of Feb. 16 (No. 294).

the German force was eight corps, which, with the cavalry, amounted to two hundred and forty thousand men, of which three corps were entirely fresh. The Eighth Corps, on the morning of the 18th, was posted in the Bois de Genivaux, in front and to the left of Gravelotte, and the Ninth Corps occupied Verneville, on the left of the Eighth Corps. According to the order of battle, the whole army was to turn the right wing of the French, and force them back into Metz. The difficult task of turning the French flank was assigned to the two entirely fresh corps—the Guard and the Saxon or Twelfth; and, as they had a long march before them, from Mars-la-Tour to the French, orders were given that the centre and right wing of the Germans should confine their attack to a well-directed artillery fire until those two corps should come up against the right of the French. The Third and Tenth Corps, which had suffered so heavily on the 16th, were to be in reserve. The manœuvring of this great army the whole day was most creditable—possibly with one exception. The Seventh and Eighth Corps, belonging to the army of Steinmetz, on the German right, commenced the assault at about twelve o'clock, notwithstanding the Guard and the Saxons had not yet come up, and at that time drew upon them the French fire. The ground where these two corps were attempting to make their way was the most difficult of all; the French position on that side was impregnable, as they soon found out. If the assault had been successful, the French would simply have been forced to the road to Briey, which would be open for their retreat; and thus a plan which the French commander was not wise enough to adopt would have been forced upon him by the folly of his enemies. The premature attack on the right involved an attack by the Ninth Corps at Verneville; and the Guard, arriving shortly afterwards, advanced beyond Ste. Marie to an unprepared attack against St. Privat.

In this engagement the superiority of the chassepot over the needle-gun was incontestably proved. No sooner had the Guard debouched from Ste. Marie, the Ninth Corps from Verneville, and the Seventh and Eighth Corps in front of Gravelotte, than they received a terrible mitrailleuse, but especially small-arm, fire, from St. Privat, Amanvillers, and the road in front of Rozérieulles, at a distance of from seven hundred to nine hundred yards; and so terribly did the Germans suffer that they were obliged to suspend their assault until the artillery could throw confusion into the French lines; the Guard even was beaten back upon Ste. Marie with great loss. It is a remarkable evidence of the distance to which the chassepot carries that an artillery officer received a slight wound in the arm while directing his battery at a distance of over eleven hundred yards from the French lines. This weapon can safely be said to carry a thousand yards, making it possible for those bearing it to enter into an engagement at eight hundred and fifty to nine hundred yards. For the Germans, the most difficult task was to come within two hundred to three hundred yards of the enemy, that being the most favorable distance for their infantry fire. When, however, they reached that distance, their regular fire and steady aim almost invariably put the French to flight. Bazaine had, however, placed too much reliance upon the chassepot. If the needle-gun was inferior to it, the German artillery was vastly superior to that of the French. In the Prussian army, the proportion of artillery is very great, usually every corps having ninety pieces. So skilful are the Prussian artillerymen that, after three trials, they succeed in bringing their guns to bear. The artillery fire is usually opened at a distance of 1,300 or 1,400 yards, and frequently the artillery advances to a distance of 900 yards; in case the enemy is in retreat it even goes to within 300 or 250 yards, doing terrible execution. On this day the Germans had a hundred and fifty cannon more than the French. It was the artillery that gained for the Germans the day at Gravelotte. The Seventh and Eighth Corps were almost demoralized when the artillery on the heights to the right of Gravelotte commenced an effective fire against Point du Jour and Moscou, and prevented the French from immediately availing themselves of the advantage offered them by the exhaustion of their assailants.

Those who were at Gravelotte that day recall with a feeling of something like horror an ominous silence that prevailed at seven o'clock in the evening, succeeded by a terrible fire of mitrailleuse and chassepot. The French had made an assault against the worn-out troops of the Eighth Corps; had put them to rout, and thrown almost unprecedented confusion into the German lines. Fortunately for the Germans, the Second Corps at last arrived at this critical moment on the ground, and, with fixed bayonets and beating drums, went forward in battalion columns without firing a gun; and no sooner had these new troops appeared than the French turned and even retired from the strong position that they had held all day.

Thus the Germans gained the heights of Point du Jour and Moscou, which it had been impossible for them to carry by assault.

Meantime, the artillery of the Tenth Corps, posted on the road about three thousand feet from St. Privat, had held the French in check after they had beaten back the Guard. Finally, at five o'clock, the Twelfth Corps, which had had the longest march before it, had advanced as far as Boncourt, and its artillery could be brought to bear upon the French right wing. Encouraged by these reinforcements, and supported by this heavy artillery fire, the Guard once more assaulted St. Privat, and at last, at about eight o'clock, together with the twentieth division of the Tenth Corps, carried the village, and gained this bulwark of the right wing of the French—and the battle was won. During the night Bazaine withdrew his army into Metz, and the Germans lost no time in destroying the bridges of the Orne and closing the passage to Thionville, and the investment was completed.

J. L. H.

BERLIN, January 17, 1871.

Correspondence.

THE TAX COMMISSIONERS' REPORT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am not altogether satisfied with the exposition made in the *Nation* of the 2d, of the new system of taxation proposed by the New York Commissioners in their recent report to the Legislature; and as I am somewhat covetous of the support and endorsement of your readers in this new reform movement, I ask the privilege of your columns for the purpose of making a restatement of the points involved—especially as no progress in this or any other reform can be anticipated, unless the public are able to understand clearly from the outset both what it is desired to accomplish, and the agencies which it is proposed to employ.

All are agreed that this system of local taxation, as it exists to-day in New York and most of the other States, is unjust, ineffective, and antagonistic to rapid material development; real estate being valued for assessment according to no common and uniform standard, but rather at the caprice or favor of the assessors; while personal property which *now* evades taxation in a very great degree is likely *hereafter*, through recent laws, court decisions, and the use of United States bonds, to escape altogether. To remedy these defects was the problem presented to the Commissioners, and they have endeavored to solve it; how satisfactorily, experience and the judgment of the public must decide.

In respect to real estate, the difficulty lies wholly in the lack of a uniform and equitable valuation, and may be remedied mainly, as has been proved by the recent experience of the cities of Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago, by a reform in administration. Such a reform the Commissioners have proposed, but for further explanations concerning it, I would refer to the report itself.

The points of interest and of difficulty, therefore, centre in the proposed treatment of personal property as representing one of the two great sources from which the State by taxation is able to obtain its necessary revenues. Direct taxation of this species of property has in all places and at all times proved impracticable. It was so in old Rome, when the assessors were empowered to administer torture, and it has also equally failed in all the monarchical or despotic countries of Europe, and under the popular governments of the United States; and every nation, with the exception of the United States, profiting by its own experience, or the experience of others, has long ago swept all laws authorizing the direct taxation of such property from its statute-books. But it does not necessarily follow, that because direct taxation of personal property has proved impracticable, that indirect taxation will prove equally so. On the contrary, all the nations which have abolished direct taxes on personal property have, without exception, and successfully, adopted some measures for arriving at an equivalent result indirectly; and if it is right, as Adam Smith lays down, that every man should pay according to his ability, and it is perfectly practicable to equitably and effectively tax such ability, then the proposed method of indirect taxation on personal property is not only right and expedient, but it can be defended according to the most enlightened principles of modern political economy. Thus, for example: England taxes personal property indirectly, through her income tax and the taxes levied by her on rentals, carriages, plate, servants, etc.; while France arrives at the same result by taxes on rentals, doors, and windows, and by what are termed occupiers' licenses.

The Commissioners, therefore, do not propose to abandon taxation on

personal property, and they do not favor—certainly at present—the exclusive taxation of real estate, as has been stated, but the system they offer is substantially as follows:

Tax all corporations created by the State which are in the nature of a monopoly; the gas company, which has practically no competition in the sale of its products in its particular district, being taken as the type of such corporations, or associations of capital. Banks, savings-banks (at least to the extent of their surplus, which is practically no one's property); railroads—steam and horse; insurance, omnibus, ferry, and bridge companies; and private banking capital, are also included under this proposition; but capital invested in mining, shipping, and manufacturing would not be thus included, and would be entirely exempt from direct taxation, the interests of the State, the legislation of other States, and the necessity for reducing to a minimum the cost of production, rendering such exemption in the opinion of the Commissioners absolutely imperative.

It is obvious, therefore, in the outset, that under this section a very large proportion of the personal property of the State would be made subject to taxation; not, as now, to the annoyance and inquisition of the individual owner or shareholder, but, at one time and at one place, through the agent or treasurer of the corporation itself; the securities of the company, or its evidences of indebtedness, wherever and however held, being made free and exempt from return and assessment. It is not proposed to discuss or defend here the expediency of imposing taxes upon property or franchises of this description. A person interested in a work of reform, whose heart is earnestly intent upon his charge, does not so much ask himself what is theoretically desirable as what is practically possible; and when he has determined what is practicable, he bends his energies to that point, and lets the theoretical future take care of itself. I, for one, have no patience with that class of reformers who will take nothing, unless all; who discountenance tariff reform unless absolute free-trade is to be substituted; or reform in local taxation, unless some plan is to be recommended which is known to be in entire opposition to the public sentiment. I believe in half a loaf rather than in no bread; and am firmly convinced that with one half in hand it is a great deal easier to get the other half, rather than, starting empty-handed, to get the whole at once. Therefore, my answer to those who may allege that my practice is in opposition to my principles will be, that I recognize the drift of public sentiment, and do not propose to forfeit all measure of success by putting such sentiment at defiance. When the people of New York have fully come to appreciate the principle that the productiveness of a tax is not its first consideration to favor, and that the direct gains which accrue from some taxes are far more than compensated for by indirect losses, it will be time to take another step forward in the cause of progress. But that time has not yet come.

2. The second proposition of the new system is, to tax land and buildings—real estate—on the uniform basis of their fair marketable valuation. It is difficult to see why the case of unoccupied lands is not here fully provided for. There can be no other equitable standard for valuing, and there can be no possible error in assessment except by undervaluing; and an improved administration of law and Sec. 13 of outline Code No. 2, submitted by the Commissioners, provide against undervaluing as fully as is possible. If it is proposed that unoccupied land shall be assessed on a proportionately greater value than contiguous occupied and improved territory, the Commissioners respectfully dissent. The latter is worth more, and reimburses the owner for taxes and interest, or it is used unprofitably; while the former returns the owner nothing for the time being. If the former rises in value, so does the latter; and if each is taxed on its fair market value, they are taxed equitably.

3. With the third proposition the difficulties and points of disagreement commence; for it is here that the taxation of personal property indirectly and by substitute is proposed. The reasoning of the Commissioners is as follows: All experience and reasoning show that as a general rule, whoever possesses personal property necessarily puts out some sign or indication of the fact and amount of such possession; and that the rent or rental value of the building or premises occupied constitutes the most permanent and certain of such signs or indications. The Commissioners, therefore, propose, in the place of all taxation on personal property, other than that provided for in their first proposition, to tax each occupier, be he owner or tenant, who is in the possession of an amount of property beyond what the law exempts from execution, on a valuation indicated by three times his rent actually paid, or three times the rental value of the premises occupied, if he be the owner; and in consideration thereof make no further enquiry as to what personal property he possesses, where he

keeps it, or how he uses it. If it is asked why three times the rent or rental value is taken, the answer is that the Commissioners find, from investigation, that no person, even the humblest, can rent and occupy any building, or part of a building, and pursue any occupation which will yield a livelihood including his rent, without being in possession of personal property equal to the amount specified, and on this point they challenge investigation. It will be seen by reference to the report that it is not proposed to commence assessing according to this system at the bottom level of society. The occupier must have personal property over and above what is liable to execution; and it is further provided that, in the case of the occupiers of tenement-houses paying a minimum rent (\$150), the owner shall be regarded as occupier, and taxed accordingly. The Commissioners claim that this system is an equitable one, easily understood, and one that allows little to the discretion or caprice of assessors. If the occupier is of small means, and pays little rent, he is taxed lightly; if, on the contrary, he prefers to employ his wealth in owning or renting costly structures, his taxation is increased proportionately. If he possesses more of personal property than is represented by three times his rent or rental value of his dwelling, and such property is invested in corporate stocks enumerated under the first section of the proposed system, it would be returned for assessment. If such property, on the other hand, is invested in United States bonds, or property without the State, it is beyond the jurisdiction of the State; if invested in machinery, mining, and shipping, its taxation by the State is inexpedient, for such taxes directly increase the cost of production, and are not paid in the long run by the immediate representatives of the capital assessed.

But the criticism is made, in your review of the 2d, that such indirect taxation of personal property is, in fact, only another tax upon real estate; or, in other words, that the unit of measurement adopted, and the object measured, are one and the same. Upon this I take direct issue, and assert that there is no necessary connection whatever between the two; and that the personal tax is not in any sense a tax upon real estate, any more than it would be if, instead of rent or rental value, the buttons on the occupier's coat or the books in his library were taken as the standard of measurement. Or, to make the case clearer, suppose the occupier to be an individual who has no stocks or personal property investment whatever, but a large income derived from professional practice, and who rents the house or apartments he occupies. Such an individual probably now escapes direct taxation altogether; and yet, if ability to pay, as laid down by Adam Smith, is to be made the test and measure of taxation, the State has an equitable and just claim upon him; and in assessing him for personal property on a basis of three times his rental, he to a certain extent discharges such claim, and the payment of it in no ways falls upon the owner of the real estate he occupies; and the Commissioners claim that it constitutes one of the chief merits of the system they have proposed, that its provisions will so effectually and equitably bring into the range of assessment so large an amount of personal property now wholly evading taxation, that the rate on real estate, at present ranging in the cities of this State from 2.27 to 6.70 per cent., will never hereafter necessarily exceed two per cent. as a maximum.

I have thus sketched a brief outline of the reforms proposed by the Commissioners in their recent report. If sufficient space were available, illustration and argument might be further adduced in its support to almost any extent; but as I cannot expect to be allowed to fill up your columns with a discussion of this one subject, I would respectfully ask your readers to read and examine the report itself, and judge for themselves whether the system proposed is not wholly practicable, and at the same time as simple, equitable, and economic as the present condition of the body politic and public sentiment in reference to reform will allow.—I remain, yours most respectfully,

DAVID A. WELLS,
Chairman, Board of Commissioners.

March 6, 1871.

THE PROFESSOR OF FRENCH AT WEST POINT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the letter from Washington in your issue of this week appears the following sentence: "The latest instance of the way gangrene is eating into the body politic is in the appointment of the Professor of French at West Point. The office of United States Marshal at Boston was wanted for another partisan, and so the incumbent was transferred to the other post. Perhaps the linguistic acquirements of the pupils are of minor importance; but what is to prevent the military professorships from

going the same road, with consequences to be developed in the next war as similar ones have been lately in France?" The natural inference from the words quoted is that Gen. Andrews, the late marshal, is a mere political partisan, quite unfit to be entrusted with the duty of instructing the cadets at West Point either in French or in studies of a more purely military character. If your correspondent knows the man of whom he writes, he has been guilty of wilful injustice. If he does not, which I think is more probable, I will suggest for his information that Gen. Andrews is not only as far as possible from being a political partisan (if he had been, he would have kept his place as marshal), but that he is one of the best specimens of a West Point graduate. He was among the first, if not the first, in his class, and is a most conscientious, painstaking, and soldierly man, well versed in the literature of what was for many years his profession. If professors at the Military Academy are to be taken from the ranks of its graduates, your Washington correspondent may rest assured that, so long as men are selected of the same character as Gen. Andrews, there is no danger of the fulfilment of his gloomy forebodings of our national decay.

P.

BOSTON, March 11, 1871.

SATURN'S ECLIPSES OF THE SUN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the notice of Proctor's "Other Worlds than Ours," printed in your issue of March 2, occurs the following, viz.: "If that planet (Saturn) were habitable, his rings would prove a terrible nuisance. In latitudes corresponding to New York, they cause total eclipses of the sun which last seven years at a time."

This is a great mistake. No such eclipse is possible to any part of Saturn's surface. I do not know who was the originator of the error. Walker's edition of Herschel's "Astronomy," 1838, says the eclipse will last fifteen years. Olmsted copied the assertion in his work. It is also in Madler's "Astronomy," Berlin, 1852, and in others. The eclipse lasts about fifteen days at the equator of the planet; and different periods for various latitudes, but in no case exceeding a few days.

The error was very fully exposed a quarter of a century ago, by Lardner in the Transactions of the Royal Astronomical Society of London, an abstract of which will be found in Lardner's "Hand-book of Natural Philosophy," Vol. III., American edition of 1854. The later editions of Herschel in my possession omit the paragraph of the earlier editions, in which the error is found. Any one familiar with mathematics and astronomy can make the proof for himself.

X.

OXFORD, O., March 6, 1871.

[It seems strange that "X." should evidently not have read Proctor's "Saturn and its System," which appeared in 1865. On pages 179 seq. of that work, Proctor thoroughly examines Lardner's calculations, and shows that they are founded on erroneous data, and are hence wrong in result. Table XI. of the same book, in which the epochs and duration of eclipses in all Saturnian latitudes are given, as calculated by Proctor, shows that in latitude 40° the eclipse due to the rings begins nearly three years after each autumnal equinox, gradually becoming total. The period of totality is 6 years 236.4 days, or 5,543 Saturnian days. This is preceded and followed by a period of morning and evening eclipse; the whole period being 8 years 292.8 days.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

THE "Story of my Life" of Hans Christian Andersen, as heretofore published, has contained but a part of the original biography, and neither, of course, gave any account of the author's experience during the past fourteen years. The new edition now about to be issued by Messrs. Hurd & Houghton will be a full translation from the Danish, with an addition covering this later and (for Andersen) very interesting period, written expressly for his American readers, and now for the first time translated.—It is hardly necessary to call attention to an obvious error in the second line of the second paragraph on page 160 of our last issue (No. 297). The rare book containing Lord Wilmot's retort to Louis XIV.'s boast of French aggrandizement was published, of course, in London and not in France. In recurring to the subject, we may appropriately relate the answer said to have been given by Gervinus to Thiers, when

the latter enquired of him, after Sedan: "With whom are you Germans fighting now?" "With Louis XIV."—The *North British Review* has come to a sudden end, though finishing a volume, with the January number. It is the third publication which has died in the hands of its conductors—the liberal Roman Catholics who, after failing with the *Home and Foreign Review*, founded the *Chronicle*, which in less than a year was discontinued, after a career of great promise. The *North British Review* was one of the four reviews regularly reprinted in this country by the Leonard Scott Publication Company, who now inform their subscribers that they have substituted for it the *British Quarterly*; and in order to give a complete file of the latter, they will furnish gratuitously with the April number the January number also, which begins a volume. The *British Quarterly* and the *North British Review* were started almost simultaneously, in 1845, the one by the English Nonconformists, and the other by the Free Church of Scotland. The former, however, has been under the same management from the beginning, its founder, Dr. Vaughan, having edited it for twenty-one years.—The following books will be shortly issued by Messrs. Harper & Bros.: Barnes's "Notes on Romans," the fourth volume of the revised edition; Lady Belcher's "Mutineers of the Bounty," which does not appear to lack for interest in spite of all that has been written on the subject; a revised edition of Mr. Wells's report on "Local Taxation," that abundantly deserves to be taken out of the category of purely official documents; a copious and critical "English-Latin Dictionary," by Dr. William Smith and Theophilus D. Hall; "Science for the Young—Part I: Heat," by Jacob Abbott; several novels; and Volume II. of Brodhead's "History of New York."—Messrs. Roberts Bros. will republish "Episodes in an Obscure Life;" "Thoughts about Art," by Philip Gilbert Hamerton; and "A Visit to my Discontented Cousin."—A translation of Lucretius is announced by Messrs. De Witt C. Lent & Co.—Messrs. H. H. & T. W. Carter, Boston, reprint from the Tauchnitz edition of British novels "One Year," by Mrs. Peake.

—The directors of the social experiment known in Boston as the Horticultural School for Women, and which was opened in the latter part of May, 1870, publish a brief report of what has been accomplished in the past seven months. This, indeed, does not amount to much, though the result is by no means discouraging. The school has been obliged to rent instead of owning ground, and has had but six pupils, partly because of its late opening, and partly because the cost of board and tuition together (the latter being \$100 a year) prevented a majority of the applicants from entering. Nevertheless, with the current expenses, including the rent, reaching \$500 a month, the receipts from tuition and board and sales of produce were nearly half that amount. The directors hope in time to have a sufficient real-estate fund to enable them to purchase a place of their own, and also to be assisted by the benevolent in establishing free scholarships, when the school will probably become self-sustaining. The scheme of instruction is strictly practical, designed for those who mean to make horticulture a profession, and embraces, besides training in the garden and greenhouse, the study of botany, entomology, agricultural chemistry, drawing, etc. The effect of their out-door work on the students has been very gratifying; some were invalids, and all have improved in health.

—It is beyond a doubt that we Americans put up with all sorts of things in a way that often gives other people good colorable reason for blaming us as cowardly, or even for attacking us for obtuseness of the moral sense. It is comfortable to believe, however, that our toleration of the impudence of landlords, clerks, railroad-conductors, hack-drivers, pursers of steamboats, and other public servants who have made themselves our tyrants, is not a result of cowardice so much as of good-nature and of a self-reliance that takes the world as it comes; and that our morals are not so far gone in dry-rot as our long-suffering endurance and even partial enjoyment of Fisk, for example, would lead some to suppose. It is not only more comfortable to believe so, but there need be no doubt that one who so believes is nearer the truth than if he held the opinion of us that is commoner among our critics on the other side of the water. A rascal who carries "smartness" to its highest development, or who has in him anything else that is amusing, is sure to get from us, for a certain length of time, a certain sort of applause. But let Mr. Phineas T. Barnum try to go to Congress, and he finds it a difficult matter. Or let General Butler try to get us to repudiate the national debt, or declare war in the Fenian interest, and how soon he discovers that the comic element in his performances and his impudent unscrupulous sharpness—which make it impossible even for those who best know his character to entertain a perfectly serious hatred for him—how soon he discovers that at bottom his countrymen put no trust in him, and that he has no one's respect. Or

let Fisk, now that people have had enough of the sort of amusement which he is capable of affording, attempt to keep on for another two years as he has during the last two years, and how surely he will come to irremediable grief. The moral state of the people of this country is, no doubt, not everything that some of us moralists could wish; but after all it is to be called sound and wholesome. And were it not for the fact that everybody here is so busy as to have little time for thinking about enforcing the moral law, we should not be under any reproach of caring a bit less about morality than other communities care. Whenever it does happen that we get time to give some attention to the matter, the judgments that we render are not in the least doubtful, nor delivered with any lack of emphasis. Take, for instance, General Barlow's and Mr. Samuel Bowles's discussion of Mr. David Dudley Field's position as the coadjutor, with Barnard and Cardozo, of Gould and Fisk. It was a discussion that was slow in coming, for the affairs discussed were in so many ways highly interesting that the iniquity of the men engaged in them was not at first so clearly perceptible, or, rather, so staringly obvious, as it doubtless should have been. But however slow in coming, the discussion, now that it has come, cannot be found fault with on the score of thoroughness and fearlessness. There is to be more of it, too, we are glad to say, and we are glad to say that it is to come in part, at least, from a member of the New York bar—a body which in no long time will be prepared, so far as the possession of evidence goes, to take some decisive steps as regards its own purification. As we are informed, the next *North American Review* will contain two articles, strongly libellous in character, of which one treats very fully of the strategy and tactics of Fisk and Gould in their famous fight with the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad last summer was a year, while the other discusses the moral aspects of the services rendered Fisk by the lawyers in whose hands he placed himself; or who placed themselves in his hands—whichever it was. The author of the second article is Mr. Albert Stickney, of this city, a good lawyer in good standing, who, though he is not a practised writer, possesses a knowledge of some of the facts in the late history of the Erie Railway and its counsellors which will make whatever he has to say on the subject worth the attention of all interested persons. The other article, of which advance sheets have been shown us, is by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and is a piece of narrative which will be very much enjoyed by all but a certain number of persons. The *Westminster Review's* article on the fight between Field, Shearman, Fisk, Vanderbilt, and Drew was lively enough; but it was rather a mild matter in comparison with this "Erie Raid."

—Old graduates of the Law School of Harvard College may find some pleasure in the perusal of a small pamphlet newly published by Messrs. Hurd & Houghton, of this city. It is from the hand of Judge Joel Parker, for many years Royall Professor in the School, and a man widely known in the profession and in the country at large, as well as among his old pupils, not only for his legal abilities and attainments, but also for his sincere enjoyment of a good fight. "So fight I," he says on the title-page before us, "not as one that beateth the air." And on the cover of his pamphlet he prints the following words—with an evident belief in the strict appropriateness of some of them to the mental and moral condition of his antagonists; and with no unjustifiable confidence in the accurate descriptiveness of others of them as applied to his own language, which is indeed quite plain. They are these words by "Truthful James:"

"Which I wish to remark—
And my language is plain—
That for ways that are dark,
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinese is peculiar:
Which the same I would rise to explain."

The Chinese—or Chinesees, for there are two of them—who figure in this case are the new editors of the *Boston Law Review*, a pair of heathen who would seem to have come upon their "Melican man" at a discouragingly early stage in their career of editorship; and the dark ways and vain tricks which Judge Parker rises to explain were exhibited in the writing and publication of an article in their *Review*, in which were said these things:

"For a long time, the condition of the Harvard Law School has been almost a disgrace to the commonwealth of Massachusetts. We say 'almost a disgrace,' because, undoubtedly, some of its courses of lectures have been good, and no law school of which this can be said is hopelessly bad. Still, a school which undertook to confer degrees without any preliminary examination whatever, was doing something every year to injure the profession throughout the country and to discourage real students. So long as the possession of a degree signified nothing except a residence

for a certain length of time in Cambridge or Boston, it was without value. The lapse of time secured its acquisition. Just as a certain number of dinners entitled a man in England to a call to the bar, so a certain number of months in Cambridge entitled him to a degree of Bachelor of Laws. So long as this state of things continued, it was evident that the school was not properly performing its function."

Upon this followed some remarks about the new system which compels candidates for a degree to pass an examination and makes some other changes, which no doubt are by no means undesirable. "Now," says Judge Parker, thinking his reputation bound up, in part, with that of the School, and thinking, further, that the editors had traduced the School, "had the author of this article been content to commend the new order of things without disparaging the old" (or had the words of censure appeared to be but carelessly used or unintentionally disparaging), "the matter might be passed without notice." But they were not used carelessly, and it is clear that it was intended to censure the School and some, at least, of its former instructors, as doing something every year to injure the profession. We have not space to follow the Judge through the interesting account of the rise and progress of the Harvard Law School and the other law schools of the country; nor to follow him as he shows that, whatever the School at Cambridge has done during the last half-century, it has done with the approval and under the direction of such Presidents as Kirkland, Quincy, Everett, Sparks, Walker, Felton, and Hill, and (among the Fellows) such lawyers as Charles Jackson, Joseph Story, Lemuel Shaw, C. G. Loring, E. R. Hoar, B. R. Curtis, H. G. Otis, and B. F. Crowninshield; nor to quote his proofs that the School has steadily widened its field, and yearly drawn to itself, anxious either for its degree or its instruction, greater and greater numbers of students from all parts of the Union, who have, as a rule, certainly not discredited the approval accorded their Alma Mater by the jurists and lawyers whose names we have cited, and have evidently not been of opinion that the condition of the School was a disgrace to anybody.

—The truth of the matter would seem to be that each party to this dispute—if indeed there is not here one of those quarrels which disprove the adage and are made by one person—has on his side some right, that each had plenty of good intentions, and that each may be well enough content to let the matter rest as it is. We should say that no one could read Judge Parker's pamphlet without admitting that the Harvard Law School has, ever since its foundation, done excellent work, highly creditable to its teachers and scholars; that it has been so far from being a disgrace to Massachusetts as to have been an honor to the State, and of service to the profession throughout the whole country; that its degrees, if they were given without examination, were nevertheless carried away by men who had on the whole studied well—as behooved students who have reached manhood, and who in nine cases out of ten had before them the immediate prospect of applying practically their knowledge of the law, and getting their bread and reputation by applying it well. On the other hand, it is true, too, that the School can do something and will, it is highly probable, do something under the changed system, not only to increase its efficiency, but help on the cause of sound education in the United States. It will be well, no doubt, when Harvard University shall give no degree the possession of which shall not be strong evidence that its possessor has a certain amount of ability, and has acquired a certain amount of knowledge of law or science or theology, or whatever else the university may have been trying to teach him. His perception of the fact that this is highly desirable in the case of the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and his strong hope that under the new system this significance may be given the Law School degrees as to others, apparently made the writer in the *Review* speak as he did—that is to say, with far too much of looseness of assertion, and in a tone of seeming disrespect to persons whom he no doubt considers worthy of a great deal of respect. However, Judge Parker had little need, one would think, to fancy himself glanced at. But the fact is, he had a crow to pick, not only with the offending editors, but with various committees and sub-committees of the Board of Overseers, who also may be safely referred to the pamphlet in question as affording means of amusement. The sarcasm of our author, as regards its delicacy, is something like a good two-handed stroke with a dull broad-axe; and as regards its effectiveness, it might be compared to a blow delivered with the helve of the same weapon just after the blade had flown off; but one pities the axeman's arms, and shivers sympathetically with them in the jar they must be feeling. He takes, however, a pleasure in wielding it which is so sincere and complacent that it cannot fail to give the reader much satisfaction, and, as we have said, the historical and argumentative parts of the book make it interesting and worth having.

—Our sober neighbors of Philadelphia, so long contented with the rectangular sameness of their streets, seem to have waked up at last to the consciousness that civic architecture may be rendered attractive as well as comfortable, and that the business avenues of a town may become the means of æsthetic education as well as of money-making. The gigantic park which they are laying out, and in which they take so much pride, seems to have fairly aroused them, and the quiet of the city of Penn is disturbed by a controversy raging on the use to be made of "Penn Square"—a plot of about ten acres, at the crossing of Broad and Market streets. One party, which seems to have legislative authority at its back, proposes the vandalism of closing up this open space by erecting in its centre a huge building, more than four hundred feet square, as a courthouse and city hall, and in pursuance of this they have already cut down the handsome trees with which it was adorned. The other party is striving to convert the square into an open plaza, like the Place de la Concorde, under the impression that it will become a centre from which handsome architectural improvements will radiate, giving us the only example in this country of those imposing effects which are so eagerly sought after in the European capitals. This view of the matter is presented in a well-written pamphlet before us—"Broad Street, Penn Square, and the Park"—the work, apparently, of a professional hand familiar with the shortcomings and solecisms that so commonly disgrace our great cities. The author is desirous of reproducing in Philadelphia the effect which is so striking in Paris, of the Place de la Concorde, the Avenue de l'Impératrice, and the Bois de Boulogne; but we doubt whether Philadelphians are yet sufficiently educated in the beautiful to take advantage of the opportunity which is before them. One cheering indication, however, is the fact that a large sum has already been pledged by private citizens for the adornment of the square with fountains and monuments if the scheme can be carried out. By the way, could not the somewhat arid verdure of Union Square be advantageously replaced with a handsomely paved and flagged open plaza, appropriately ornamented?

—Two addresses by Judge Thayer of the District Court of Philadelphia have recently been printed in that city by Kay & Brothers, Law Booksellers. One of them, "The Law, considered as a Progressive Science," was delivered before the Law Academy of Philadelphia, and is well worthy of the series of papers read before that useful body in its active career of half a century. It is a learned, thoughtful, and exhaustive study of the gradual development of the Common Law, as it exists in this country, showing the influence of Roman, Civil, Canon, Feudal, and Federal Law, each in turn controlling for a time, and all leaving their impress on the body of law which now serves our daily needs. Judge Thayer speaks earnestly and eloquently of the vast influence of the legal profession in this country, and urges on the students the importance of fitting themselves for their places as well in public life as in the more strictly technical and private relations to their clients and to the courts. Himself an example of the good that is done by taking an active part in politics, he carefully enforces upon students and practitioners of the law the importance of never making their profession subsidiary to politics as a livelihood. Appreciating the influence and importance of lawyers as a class in the political as well as the social history of the country, he holds up for those who are yet to swell the ranks of the profession the standard of progress and reform as that under which they can best work their way forward to honorable position and reward. Judge Thayer has also printed his "Address delivered at the opening of the Library of Christian Hall," at Chestnut Hill, one of the suburbs of Philadelphia. Besides giving a modest mention of the liberality of Mr. Henry J. Williams, for many years one of the leading lawyers of Philadelphia, in thus founding a library for the use of his neighbors, Judge Thayer sketches for their benefit the history of libraries, showing how, from similar and even smaller benefactions, some of the greatest storehouses of learning have taken their start, and in time become the workshops for the most acute and the most active and useful intellects of their respective localities—at times, indeed, of the world. The scholarly tone of this brief address shows that its author has made effective use of the larger field opened to him in his varied career as lawyer and judge.

—Pastor Mann, the learned Rector of the ancient German Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia, has recently published (through Köhler) his address on the war between France and Germany. It is a clear account of the historical changes in French and German territory, tracing the causes of the loss of successive German territories to France, and of their recent recapture by the Germans, to the vices, both political and social, of the controlling power. The lesson that he draws and the moral

that he enforces are useful at all times, and the earnest moderation with which he speaks commends his pamphlet to all who can master German, and endure the small type and wretched paper with which his publisher has saved a little outlay, at the expense of a better sale. A well-printed translation would undoubtedly find many readers and do much good.

—Not the least amusing portion of the revelations made by the ransacking of the Imperial papers at the Tuileries are letters received by the Emperor asking for, or acknowledging, "presentation copies" of the "Life of Cæsar," and they certainly present certain well-known French literary men in no very favorable light. The ingenuity, mixed with solemnity, with which some of the recipients worked up their acknowledgments of the book is almost touching. M. Augier says that the effect produced on him by the preface, when the Emperor read it to him, was very deep; but it was nothing to the effect produced on him by reading the work itself. He says that, "as a work of art, it appeared to him to have the singular merit of giving liveliness to the narrative without the tricks of anecdote which, in these later days, are called 'local color.' He says it is, also, "the profound work of a thinker;" and that nobody could have written it who had not acted history himself. M. Ponsard goes still further, in acknowledgment of his copy. He says it will exercise "a salutary influence on letters," owing to its freedom from all affectation. "The style, in which Cæsar would recognize his own purity and precision, will bring us back to good taste, in showing that fine language flows from strong thinking." "The gift," he says, "makes him more eager than ever" to show himself worthy of the Emperor's "august benevolence," so he is working hard at a poetical piece for the Théâtre Français, which he hopes to read in the month of May. Octave Feuillet is very thankful for having been considered "worthy to be among the first to admire a work which will prove not only an honor to history and to letters, but will leave traces still deeper; for," he says, "to raise historic studies to that height, is to deliver the government of this world from chance, from accident, from mean passions, and hand it over to the providential inspirations of genius, the generous views and vast designs of great souls, and thus ennoble not only history, but humanity." Not bad for M. Feuillet. Arsène Houssaye begs humbly for a copy from his Majesty, as "the humblest of his critics and subjects." But nobody was as much overcome by the receipt of a copy as Jules Sandeau. He says "he was as much touched by it as if he was unworthy of it; but was as proud of it as if he deserved it. The work," he adds, "will give Julius Cæsar himself an unlooked-for greatness and a new lustre. As a man of letters, he cannot be too grateful to his Majesty. The Emperor Charles V. deserved well of the arts for having picked up Titian's brush. You, Sire, have done better; you have taken the pen of Montesquieu, and used it." One of the most fulsome acknowledgments is from Prince Charles of Roumania. The gem of the collection, however, is a letter from M. Louvet, a member of the Corps Législatif, and, incredible as it may seem, this creature was afterwards a member of the Ollivier Ministry. We shall translate this entire. Abridgment would spoil it. It is dated Dec. 17, 1855, shortly before the birth of the Prince Imperial:

"SIRE: The church of Puy-Notre-Dame, near Saumur, possesses one of the most precious of Christian relics. It is a sash of the Virgin Mary, given by William VI., Duke of Aquitaine, who had brought it back from the Crusades. The archives of the church, and numerous historical documents, attest the authenticity of this relic. The kings of France have at all times had great faith in this sash. Anne of Austria wore it at St. Germain in 1628, when she gave birth to a prince who was afterwards Louis XIV. If it seemed good to you, Sire, to place her Majesty the Empress under the protection of this relic during the great event which is going to crown your domestic happiness, and assure the repose of France, I have no doubt the curé and the bishop would eagerly accede to your wishes."

—One of the most sensible and forcible documents that the late war has produced is the joint address of Karl Blind, Ferdinand Freiligrath, and Dr. Eduard Bronner to the French people and its National Assembly, dated London, during the armistice. The eight pages of this little brochure contain a sober and sane judgment of the great conflict, in marked contrast with the incoherencies of Edouard Schuré, on the one hand, and of Karl Blind's republican associate in this country and fellow-exile, Mr. Karl Heinzen, on the other. The writers address the French republicans more in sorrow than in anger, reproaching them with their approval of the war begun by Napoleon, and reminding them that the revolutionary Assembly of 1789-92 had not refrained from forcibly annexing German territory as the fruit of victory. "Can you forget," they continue, "that not a voice was raised among us, during half a century, to reclaim provinces which, in the time of our weakness, had been torn from us by treacherous surprises?" And is it not true "that while the immense ma-

majority of all parties with you have preached the 'natural frontier' of the Rhine as your country's right, the German democracy have never raised as an offset the question of Alsace—have never spoken of that truly *natural* barrier, the Vosges, which coincides with nationality, language, and ancient history, and really separates the French and the German races?" "Unless France pretends," they say further, stating the whole case admirably in a few words—"unless France pretends to be always in the right, and reserves to herself the privilege of making conquests when victorious, but of offering no guaranties when beaten in a war unjustly begun by her, everybody must admit that the balance of right is this time on the side of Germany." On the question of annexation there is no difference between Bismarck and Blind. If the Alsatians unwillingly return to Germany, they were unwillingly attached to France; and there is good reason for believing that their nostalgia will not last long. "Have we not seen the people of the Bavarian palatinate, who had been annexed to France for over a century, become patriotically German again, after 1815, in the course of a few years?"

—In 1841, M. Eugène Pelletan was the editor of *Le XIXe Siècle*, a journal of commerce and of national interests. In one of the November numbers was an article on the European alliances and general European policy desirable for France, having in view particularly the Eastern question. At that time M. Rouher was a young advocate not yet thirty, and we infer from a foolscap manuscript found by the Prussians in his chateau, and which has come into our possession, that being struck with this article he made, or caused to be made, a fair copy of it, as also of part of an article from the issue for Nov. 30. The first article closes thus: "Such is the policy which we offer for the consideration of thoughtful men (*des hommes graves*). We are not the inventors of it; it was Napoleon's at the conferences of Erfurth, as well as that of many distinguished minds. It only awaits the sanction of public opinion." One may judge what a contrast is presented between the tone and attitude then assumed in the name of France, and those which now become that unhappy country, towards the rest of Europe. The future to which, unless she prefers anarchy, she is now restricted, and which alone will restore her people to their right mind and repair the frightful waste of years of ambition, intermeddling, and warfare, is distinctly denounced as impossible by the journalist of 1841. The passage is worth transcribing:

"Doubtless, if France, which every twenty years adds a third to her population, is willing to live on a philosopher's competence in the limits of her own boundaries, without action beyond them, like Switzerland or Holland, content with her lot, indifferent to the world's destiny, poring over her budgets, year after year, satisfied and delighted with the spectacle of her tribune, her art and industrial expositions, her newspapers, her systems, her innovators, certainly in that case she has no need of alliances; she can be sufficient unto herself, and defend herself successfully against the neighbors who might seek to invade her."

—In the succeeding paragraph the cause of the French rottenness—inordinate conceit, cloaked with the glittering generalities of a pseudo-philanthropy—stands boldly out. "But as peoples," it begins, "have not, like individuals, the choice of their destiny; as they cannot render themselves stationary (*s'immobiliser*), or concentrate themselves within certain limits," etc., etc. And yet the examples of Holland and Switzerland, which could and did do all these things, had just been cited. "If France has at heart," is the next sentence, "the grand thought of giving her impress to the destinies prepared in heaven, and which are to be accomplished on earth," etc. The writer then proceeds to hand Turkey over to Russia, exacting as compensation for thus "ratifying the decree of heaven" and for this "inheritance in advance" (*l'avancement d'hoirie*) the Rhine frontier, the protectorate of Syria and of the north of Africa, and the pacification of Prussia and Austria by a share in the division of Turkey—Poland, by the way, having already been resuscitated under the protectorate of Prussia. Then the French modesty overcomes the writer: "As for ourselves, putting aside all feeling of nationality in presence of the accomplishment of so grand a work, we feel moved religiously at the thought of all that humanity would gain in this territorial transfer. Already we get a glimpse," etc. The barbarians are to be lifted up and taught the exact sciences. Meantime, France, with Russia's good-will, develops her industrial and military resources in Algeria, extends her border from Metz to Mayence, absorbs by commercial solidarity the rich territory of Belgium, and directs Spain in the management of her affairs.

—Miss Maria Rossetti, sister of Dante, Christina, and William has been engaged for some years on a study of the plan and scope of "The Divina Commedia," an exhaustive and unique commentary, and which is now ready for the press. The Rossetti family, Italian by blood, and inheritors

from their father, an Italian poet, of an enthusiasm for Dante which, perhaps, no one not of Italian instincts can feel, have already in divers ways shown invaluable results of that enthusiasm and its labor, and those who are qualified to speak consider the forthcoming book one of remarkable interest. Dante Rossetti contemplates bringing out an album of photographs from his designs and drawings, somewhat in the style of the "Album of the Acropolis," published by Mr. Stillman. It will be, like that, restricted to a small edition (probably not above one hundred), and will be published by Ellis. Its appearance will be looked for with great interest by lovers of art. The number of photographs will be twelve, and the price probably about \$60 (gold).

ALLIBONE'S DICTIONARY OF AUTHORS.*

At last Allibone's "Dictionary" is completed. More than twenty years ago, it was projected; twelve years ago, the first volume was published; and then, having learned its merits by constant use, we waited impatiently for the second volume. There were those who prophesied that it would never come, and others who simply complained of the delay. But Mr. Allibone was not to blame. The labor of such a compilation is enormous, and the years have been well spent in expanding the promised volume into two. Indeed, as we shall show, it would have been better had there been a still further delay in the appearance of the last.

It may seem ungracious to find fault with a book which has cost its author so much drudgery, which no other work had forestalled, and none is likely soon to supersede, yet we feel constrained, while praising the excellence of the First Part—the "Dictionary" proper—to point out the shortcomings of the Second Part—the "Indexes." Almost every one knows that the "Dictionary" is one of those works, like Worcester's or Webster's or Cowden Clarke's "Concordance to Shakespeare," which a literary man can hardly dispense with; that it comes down nearly fifty years later than Watt's "Bibliotheca," its only competitor, and contains biographical notices, which Watt hardly can be said to have given, and critical notices extracted from the most varied sources, which he did not give at all; that, besides the criticisms inserted, the number of references to others is really marvellous for the work of one man; that the work is impartial, comprehensive, minute, and as accurate as any one has a right to expect a book containing such a variety of details to be; and, finally, that it is as pleasant for desultory reading as it is useful for reference. Knowing this, and knowing Mr. Allibone's high appreciation of indexes and success in making them, it was natural to expect much of the "Forty Indexes," which were announced, with a little flourish, in the title and preface of Vol. I. The first look at Vol. III. was sufficient to show that the promises were unfulfilled. We had been told that "the enquirer could find at a glance all the authors of any note in the language, arranged under the subject or subjects upon which they had written;" "the clergyman would have only to turn to the class headed 'Divinity,' and the theological treasures of the English language would be laid open to his view;" "the article 'Law' would enable the lawyer to discover at once the title and date of, and frequently valuable critical opinions from the highest authorities upon, the legal treatise which is to enable him to study intelligently the important case, the management of which is, perhaps, to make or mar his professional reputation." This was the promise. Let us look at the fulfilment.

The twenty-second index, "Law," is a list of 3,175 names of authors—bare names, without the slightest indication what legal subjects, what branch of law even, is treated of. Our supposed lawyer, eager to commence the study of his important case, must, then, look up in the First Part—the "Dictionary"—every one of these 3,175 names, and read through the list of works given under each, to see if he can find anywhere a legal treatise to his purpose. This process, which would occupy—judging from an experiment that we have made—about seventeen hours, is what Mr. Allibone terms "finding at once the title and date of the legal treatise," etc. It is true that the lawyer may come across something that will serve his turn before he has examined a dozen names, but even then he could not feel sure that there was not something much more to his purpose further on. Most lawyers, we suspect, rather than undertake such a search, would trust to find the required treatise pointed out in some of the numerous legal bibliographies under a heading so specific that the book could be found really "at once." Or if one should

* "A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century. Containing over Forty-six Thousand Articles (Authors), with Forty Indexes of Subjects. By S. Austin Allibone." Vol. III. and last. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

seriously attempt to use the index, his ardor would soon be damped by such entries as "Adair, W. James, author of several legal treatises," "Adams, Jonas, a writer on law," which are two of the first seven names referred to under "Law."

One can, with some difficulty, imagine cases in which lists like these would be of use; but a list occupying five times the room, and costing, perhaps, twenty times as much labor to make it, would have been at least a hundred times as valuable. To make these indexes in any way correspond with the promises quoted above—and similar promises were made with regard to agriculture, medicine, commerce, art—they should have been very much subdivided, or else, if the so-called "dictionary system" was preferred, each book worth referring to should have been entered under the most specific subject.

In long and frequent use of Vol. I., we have found it much more accurate than Watt's "Bibliotheca." The new volumes appear to be as good as the first in this and other respects. We find, of course, an occasional misprint, as "Tavish" for "Tainsh," page 2,375; an occasional fault of arrangement, as the reference to Taylor's "Thackerayana" under Tennyson, which belongs higher up in connection with the mention of Thackeray's "Snob;" an occasional waste of room, as where the list of Mrs. Tuthill's "Juvenile Library," which need not have taken more than five or six lines, fills fourteen; an occasional omission, as that of T. H. Safford, noted for his mathematical precocity, and now director of the Dearborn Observatory, whose writings are as worthy of mention as those of his companions, the two Tuttlés; occasionally a superfluous remark; and, in general, a less frequent reference to foreign critics on English writers than might be desirable in a country where the French and German languages are now so much read. Not that Mr. Allibone makes no such references. On the contrary, he notes reviews of Thackeray and Tennyson in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; but he has not noted all the articles on either author in that periodical, and, as far as we have observed, other foreign reviews are unexplored by him. The *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, for instance, has articles on Thomson and Wordsworth; the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on Trollope and Walpole; Gosche's *Jahrbuch für Literatur*, on Swift; the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, on Wace, which are apparently unknown to our author. Nor would it be difficult to extend the list. But we feel almost ashamed to speak of such omissions, in view of the vast number of references which Mr. Allibone has given us. He has accomplished a work for which every American scholar owes him hearty thanks, and of which Philadelphia especially may be justly proud.

The Statesman's Year-Book: A Statistical and Historical Account of the States of the Civilized World. Manual for Politicians and Merchants for the Year 1871. By Frederick Martin. Eighth annual publication, revised after official returns. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.)—This compilation may not be sufficiently elaborate and exhaustive to deserve its prime title, "The Statesman's Year-Book," but we can safely recommend it as a very useful "Manual for Politicians and Merchants" of the higher sort—those, namely, who, while engaged in law-making, President-making, or money-making, have time left to enquire, in their own interest or in that of others, how the world is governed. This our "Year-Book" proposes to show chiefly by statistical figures, following the wise adage of Goethe which it has selected for its motto: "Man sagt oft: Zahlen regieren die Welt. Das aber ist gewiss, Zahlen zeigen wie sie regiert wird. (It is often said that figures govern the world. This, however, is certain: figures show how the world is governed.)" It is, however, far from being a dry collection of tables showing the revenues and expenditures, debts and sinking funds, armies and navies, areas and populations, trade and industry, money, weights and measures, of the various states of the civilized world. Besides these and kindred things, it contains sketches of constitutions and governments, brief chronological retrospects, biographical notices of monarchs, presidents, and ministers, and lists of books of reference for further information. A considerable portion of the book is, in fact, quite readable. The freshness of the whole is decidedly commendable. We not only find notices of Amadeo I. and his queen at the head of "Spain," but Germany entered as "Deutsches Reich," Wilhelm I. noticed as Emperor, Augusta as Empress, Count Bismarck as Imperial Chancellor, and the constitution of the new Empire fully detailed.

On the other hand, it is deficient both as to completeness and correctness. There is, for instance, no notice to be discovered in it of either Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, or St. Salvador—while "Costa Rica" is

given—or of Hayti and San Domingo—while so much less important governments as Liberia and Natal are rather fully noticed. Under "Paraguay" we look in vain for a mention of the race or nationality to which the inhabitants of that country belong. The statistical figures are often given without the necessary sifting, and sometimes contradict each other. Thus, Bucharest, according to the comparative statement of the chief towns of "Turkey in Europe," contains 80,000 inhabitants, while, under "Roumania," we are told that it "had, in 1860, a population of 124,734," and in the list of "The Great Centres of Population of Europe and America" we find it credited with "142,735." Under "Turkey," Belgrade has a population of 50,000, but according to "Servia" of only "14,600, exclusive of the garrison within the fortress," which is quite insignificant, the whole army of the Principality consisting "of about 4,000 men actually under arms." Among the tributary states of Turkey, in Africa, we find "Fez" for Fezzan, and among the fortresses of Austria, "Arrat, Canove" for Arad and Castelnuovo, while Cattaro is omitted. The Russian geographical names are given with the carelessness and inconsistency which disfigure so many publications in the English language, but which are the less pardonable in a book which has gone through eight annual editions. "Ural" and "Oural," "Poltava" and "Pultawa," "Kharkof," "Kharkoff," and "Charkow," "Voronezh," "Voroneje," and "Woronesch," and similar correct and incorrect spellings—in English, French, and German forms—alternate with each other in the motliest disorder, while a few lists show some consistency in bad spelling. Such is the list of towns which contains "Kiachineu," "Nickolajew," "Berditscheu," and "Charkow." West European names are generally correctly given, the French with their accents, but now and then the reviser seems to have slumbered, as, for instance, when reading page 59, which is disfigured by the omission of no less than twenty accents.

Some carelessness is also displayed in the historical, and here and there in the biographical, notices. The list of the Emperors of Germany places Otho IV., the Guelph, among the Hohenstaufens; Adolphus (of Nassau) and Charles VII. (of Bavaria) among the Hapsburgs; and Louis IV. (of Bavaria), Rupert (of the Palatinate), and Jodocus (of Moravia) among the Luxemburgers. Francis, the first Emperor of Austria, is stated to have assumed this title "after having been compelled by Napoleon to renounce the imperial crown of Germany," though the assumption took place in 1804 and the renunciation in 1806. The Emperor Charles V. is made to reign over Austria from 1519 to 1556, to the exclusion of his brother Ferdinand I., who reigned over it from 1521. The Grand-Duke Constantine is quite unnecessarily reckoned among the Czars of Russia, one of whom he might have been had he not resigned his right to the succession in favor of his younger brother Nicholas. More decidedly incorrect is the statement, under "Prussia," that "the early extinction of Albrecht's line brought the province of Prussia to the Electors of Brandenburg, whose own territories meanwhile had been greatly enlarged by the valor and wisdom of Friedrich Wilhelm, 'the great Elector,'" for this prince ascended the throne of Brandenburg more than twenty years after the extinction of Albrecht's line and the annexation of Prussia to the Electorate. Among minor errors, we notice "Dec. 27, 1862" for March, 1864, as the date of General Grant's appointment as "Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States," and "1814" for 1813 as the date of Bismarck's birth. The "Chronicle" of the year is very loosely composed. In it the army of D'Aurelles de Paladines is badly treated. There is no mention of that general's victory at Coulmiers, November 9, over Von der Tann, but, instead of that, under "November 14," a fictitious "defeat of the French Army of the Loire at Toury by German forces under the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin," and a "defeat of the French Army of the Loire at Dreux," "November 17," where and when some French troops were actually defeated, but not those of the Army of the Loire.

Verses. By H. H. (Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1879.)—The title of this little volume is so modest as to be a misnomer—that is to say, a misnomer as books of so-called poems go. Indeed, it is far from being a volume of mere verses, as distinguished from poetry, whether we try it by comparison with the regular yearly crop of poetical writing or by a much higher standard—one that has respect to absolute values. It is full of evidences of poetical feeling, and of considerable poetical powers, and on various defensible grounds it may justly be praised by lovers of good poetry.

The merely pretty things that may be found in it are very few, for, in truth, H. H. appears to be not only too ready to use—perhaps as seeming

more intellectual—somewhat involved and harsh modes of expressing her thoughts and feelings, but also—and perhaps this is of more importance—what she has to express is, as a general thing, an intenseness of feeling, or rather a tension of feeling, which is incompatible with prettiness. It is, for that matter, incompatible with better things than prettiness. Perhaps it is in this dedicatory sonnet that she is as far from her usual walk as she ever is, and this has in it something of the languor of overstrained feeling at length relaxed:

"When children in the summer weather play,
Flitting like birds through sun and wind and rain,
From road to field, from field to road again,
Pathetic reckoning of each mile they stray;
They leave in flowers forgotten by the way;
Forgotten, dying, but not all in vain,
Since, finding them, with tender smiles, half pain,
Half joy, we sigh, 'Some child passed here to-day.'
Dear one—whose name I name not lest some tongue
Pronounce it roughly—like a little child
Tired out at noon, I left my flowers among
The wayside things. I know that thou hast smiled,
And that the thought of them will always be
One more sweet secret thing 'twixt thee and me."

But in general the tension of the feeling is so great that while two or three of the pieces—all are short—may be read at one time, the reading of a greater number is really fatiguing, or else the feeling is clothed in a somewhat enigmatic form, and one finds it almost laborious to unclasp it and discover it.

In the old story, Imlac, when he begins "to feel the enthusiastic fit," and to state at length what are the true and necessary ingredients of poetry, is told by the Prince of Abyssinia to stop. "Enough," Rasselas says, "thou hast convinced me that no human being can be a poet." It will be with something of this complimentary regret that many readers of good poetry will lay aside H. H.'s poems. She has more thought than went to the making of many a poem that will outlive many generations of men; she has fancy; she has force of feeling and of natural feeling, though it too wholly and too strenuously possesses her; she has some imaginative insight, and apparently some spiritual insight; she has a cultivated mind, and apparently a wide experience of life. But, nevertheless, she was right, one feels as one tries to recollect some of the pieces that made one doubt if they were not ill described when called verses merely—the book is one of verses and not of poems, though the author is a verse-maker of an exceptionally high class, and occasionally strays into the region of poetry.

Westward by Rail: The New Route to the East. By W. F. Rae. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. New York: D. Appleton & Co.)—Sensational writing about the United States, a little truth and much distortion and exaggeration, had become a recognized business until Mr. Hepworth Dixon reaped the last harvest by the publication of his outrageously unjust "New America." Something of that sort was necessary to bring the business to an end, and Mr. Rae must not complain if one of the first books written about us by an Englishman in a spirit of fairness should not at once meet with that reception which it deserves. Such a book is not exciting and does not gratify anybody's prejudices. The author has evidently aimed to be just to our people, our manners, and our institutions; and, if he will not deem us ungrateful, we will express the fear that his partiality has sometimes prevented him from being just—justly severe where he ought to be. We think it would not have hurt the book, nor wounded the just susceptibilities of civilized Americans, if he had dealt in proper terms with our amiable railroad conductors, our courtly and obliging hotel clerks, and had explained how it is that "first-class" hotels can charge eight dollars a day under a contract for five dollars. We could wish, too, that there were less in the book of the rails, the cars, the cards, the coaches, the meals, the ships, the passengers, etc. But then we have wished this of every book of travels we ever read, which seems to justify them by showing that such matter cannot be kept out. Moreover, Mr. Rae has shown both the willingness and the capacity to appreciate America; and for this reason, though his book is enriched with many luminous and enlightened thoughts about our people and our institutions, we could wish that he had spent more time in the great centres of thought, commerce, and production. California has received her well-deserved praise, and an equally well-deserved lecture, especially about drinking whiskey, and about aristocratizing the pioneers. This is our word and not the author's. Mormonism and the Mormons are discussed in a manner at once fearless and intelligent; but, for the American reader, too much space is given to them—an objection which the English reader will probably not make. We are inclined to think that "Pullman's cars" have quite enough said about

them; and New York, after the recent exhibitions we have made to Europe and the world, ought to feel encouraged that a cultivated foreigner could find at least a flourishing future here for literature and art. If Bostonians are not flattered by the chapter given to their city and university, it is only because of their consciousness that all the good that can be said of the Hub is within the truth. It is a book which Englishmen should read as an antidote to the nonsense and ill-nature which they have so much delighted to buy and read in times past, and for the real information to be found. Mormonism and mining-district manners and morals are not here held up as common and average specimens, as the legitimate and necessary fruits of American institutions. And Americans, if not so much instructed as a foreigner, may derive from this book the satisfaction of knowing that an English tourist can be just, if occasionally plain-spoken and severe.

The Elements of Natural Philosophy. By Sidney A. Norton, A.M. (Cincinnati: Wilson, Hinkle & Co.) *Lessons in Elementary Physics.* By Balfour Stewart, LL.D., F.R.S. (London: Macmillan & Co.)—Mr. Norton, in the preface to his work, informs us that it is the result of many years' experience in teaching the science of physics; also, "that its value must depend on its availability as a text-book;" and "that it is a selection of facts and principles best suited to the range of the pupil." He does not say, however, of what grade the pupil is supposed to be—whether he is a grammar-school boy, a high-school student, or a collegian. Nor is this made clear by the subsequent remark, that "it is to be hoped the student will find in this treatise all that is necessary for his purpose." The book throughout carefully excludes mathematical demonstrations, and the problems at the end of the work are said to be elementary. In the case of a higher class of students than those in the lower forms of a high school, this will be an objection. The system of French weights and measures is referred to in the opening chapters, but the advantages of the metric system are not dwelt upon. Especially is this omission felt in the chapter on Specific Gravity. On the whole, nevertheless, the book is better than the average of American text-books on physics, though the question still remains whether the class of treatises to which it belongs affords the best means of inculcating correct ideas of natural phenomena. They do not, in our judgment, compare with works like that whose title we have coupled with Mr. Norton's. It is rarely that a man of Professor Stewart's attainments devotes himself to the task of clearing up the misty notions which the majority of mankind entertain on the subjects of Force, Mass, Work, and Energy. This little treatise is a thoroughly logical production. The student who masters it cannot fail to have more correct and extended ideas of the laws of nature than can be obtained from many treatises containing isolated facts in Mechanics, Heat, Acoustics, and Electricity. The book is but one of many symptoms of a new era in the practice of teaching physics. With an elementary work like this, and with physical laboratories in our colleges, the subject may be acquitted of the well-deserved charge of repulsiveness to which the old methods of teaching are, no doubt, to a very great extent, obnoxious.

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